DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 186 328 SO 012 561

AUTHOR Lee, Sung Jin; Kim, Jung-Oh
TITLE The Value of Children: A Cross-National Study, Volume Seven. Korea.
INSTITUTION Hawaii Univ., Honolulu. East-West Center.; Korean Inst. for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Seoul.
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 109p.; For related documents, see SO 012 082 and SO 012 556-560.
AVAILABLE FROM University Press of Hawaii, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, HI 96822 ($3.00)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Abortions; *Children; Comparative Analysis; Contraception; Developing Nations; *Family Planning; Foreign Countries; *Parent Attitudes; Participant Characteristics; Policy Formation; Population Trends; Public Policy; Research Methodology; Social Science Research; *Socioeconomic Influences; *Values
IDENTIFIERS *Korea

ABSTRACT

The document, one in a series of seven reports from the Value of Children Project, discusses results of the survey in Korea. The project conducted interviews with 378 married couples. The volume is presented in six chapters. Chapter I discusses the survey methodology and characteristics of the sample. Chapters II and III detail positive and negative values and economic benefits and costs of children. Chapter IV focuses on family size and family planning with reference to child spacing, attitudes toward contraception and abortion, and family planning knowledge and practices. A correlation between family background variables and family size and planning is also provided. Chapter V describes the value of children and fertility within the social context. The final chapter summarizes findings and makes recommendations for population policy. Results indicate that the most positive value of children for Korean parents is the happiness they bring to a family, pleasures derived from watching children's development, and incentives provided by children to succeed in life. Negative values include the emotional burden children place on parents, financial costs, and restriction of activities. Policy recommendations include designing family planning programs for the areas they will serve, fostering ideas of the social acceptability of a childless marriage, and making alternative activities more available and attractive while increasing the extent to which children interface with these activities. (KC)

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volume seven

the value of children

a cross-national study

SD 012 561

korea

sung jin lee & jung-oh kim

a joint publication of the
east-west population institute
east-west center • honolulu
and the
korean institute for research
in the behavioral sciences · seoul

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data (Revised)

Main entry under title:

The Value of children.

Includes bibliographies.
CONTENTS: v. 1. Arnold, F., et al. Introduction and comparative analysis.–v. 2. Bulatao, R. A. Philippines.–[etc.]–v. 7. Lee, S. J., and Kim, J.-O. Korea.
1. Children–Collected works. 2. Family–Collected works. 3. Family size–Economic aspects–Collected works. I. East-West Population Institute.
HQ751.V34 301.42'7 75-8934
ISBN 0-8248-0388-4

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Printed in the United States of America
Distributed by the University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

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preface

This report presents major findings of a study concerning how Korean parents feel about children and how these feelings relate to their fertility goals and family planning. The findings are based on interviews with 378 married couples, conducted in December 1972 and January 1973. The study was part of a cross-cultural, collaborative project, called the Value of Children (VOC) Study, carried out with comparable samples in six countries—the Republic of China (Taiwan), Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States (Hawaii).

The VOC project began in April 1972, at a planning workshop at the East-West Population Institute in Honolulu, Hawaii. The project was coordinated by Dr. James T. Fawcett of the East-West Population Institute. Although fieldwork was conducted independently in each country, the coinvestigators collaborated in developing a common questionnaire, common sampling methods, and common scheme for data analysis.

The present volume is one of a seven-volume series describing results of the project. Volume 1, *Introduction and Comparative Analysis* (Arnold et al., 1975) describes the project as a whole, presents results in comparative form, and contains basic documents used in the study.

Many people were involved in the project. Much of the work on this project was done in cooperation with the other coinvestigators—Fred Arnold and James T. Fawcett, United States; Rodolfo A. Bulatao, the Philippines; Chalio Buripakdi, Thailand; Betty Jamie Chung, Hong Kong; Toshio Iritani, Japan; and Tsong-Shien Wu, Taiwan.

In preparing this report, we received valuable assistance from Sandra Ward, publications officer of the East-West Population Institute; Sonia Albores, formerly research assistant at the Institute; and Drs. Arnold and Fawcett of the Institute.

Finally, the Value of Children Study was made possible by the financial support of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada and the Ford Foundation, for which we are deeply grateful. Ozzie Simmons, Ford Foundation, and Walter Mertens and Alan Simmons, IDRC, have been closely involved with the study and have provided helpful advice and suggestions at various stages.

Finally, we wish to thank research staff of the Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences who worked on this project.

1

introduction

"Why do people want children?" In life and in literature, in the past and today, there are abundant, "obvious" answers to this seemingly simple question. But when one really comes to grips with it, the question elicits extremely diverse and complex responses. One person says that people want children because children are a social necessity; another says children bring psychological welfare to the family; others profess that children are a natural consequence of marriage; and some simply declare that the question is silly. But why indeed do people want children? The present study addresses itself to this question.

The study has three foci. First, it attempts to identify the major values Korean parents attach to children by describing and analyzing the reasons couples give for wanting as well as not wanting children. By "value" of children is meant the net balance of the positive and negative values parents attach to children. There are two opposing forces involved in childbearing motivation: approach motives, which stem from the satisfactions children bring parents and lead parents to desire children, and avoidance motives, which stem from the costs incurred by having children and lead parents to limit childbearing. The second focus is to identify and describe those conditions under which the values of children are formed. The underlying assumption is that the values parents hold about children are temporally patterned by cultural conditions and social situations. This study shows that the perceived satisfactions and costs of children are major motivational forces in childbearing and are subject to situational variation. The third concern is to relate these childbearing motivations to family-size prefer-

ences and fertility behavior to illuminate the relationships between perception and behavior. These three concerns are analyzed in the hope that the results will provide guidance for future policy-making decisions.

The overall study is cross-cultural and was conducted in six countries by collaborating behavioral scientists from the Republic of China (Taiwan), Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States (Hawaii), where the Value of Children (VOC) project began in 1972. Volume 1 of this series (Arnold and Fawcett, 1975) describes the developmental and theoretical aspects of the study as well as the major cross-cultural findings. The present volume reports only the results of the Korean portion of the study, conducted in late 1972 and January 1973. Because of the study's exploratory nature and the small samples involved, its conclusions should be regarded as tentative.

Several major studies have attempted to relate psychological factors to childbearing. The Indianapolis Study, conducted in 1944 among U.S. white Protestant couples (Whelpton and Kiser, 1946–58), covered such personality characteristics as feelings of personal inadequacy, fear of pregnancy, tendency to plan, adherence to tradition, and conformity to group patterns. The longitudinal Growth of American Families Study, conducted at Princeton University (Westoff and others, 1961; Westoff, Potter, and Sagi, 1963), assessed such personality variables as generalized manifest anxiety, nurturance needs, ability to delay gratification of impulses, self-awareness, compulsiveness, ambiguity tolerance, cooperativeness, and need achievement. The failure of these two studies to demonstrate the existence of a relationship between psychological factors and indices of fertility has been attributed to inadequate conceptualization, in that the personality variables were treated in isolation from situational variables (Lois Hoffman and Martin Hoffman, 1973).

In another study (Chung, Palmore, et al., 1972:14), the psychological variables were more broadly conceptualized as ". . . value orientations, attitudes, knowledge, and environment-perception and, exploratively, personality traits that are believed to be relevant to fertility behavior." Owing to this line of conceptualization, the study was able to identify significant correlations between the psychological variables and fertility indices.

The basic assumption of the present study was that values emerge from the relation between person and situation, rather than from personal needs and motives alone. The value of children, then, is complex and may be studied from many different viewpoints.

In economics, the values associated with children are seen to be affected by changing economic conditions, and childbearing is viewed as a choice among various alternative courses of action. In sociology and demography, satisfactions and costs of children have been regarded as a partial explanation for the demographic transition. Until recently, relatively little interest has been shown in psychology about the satisfactions and costs of children. However, Lois and Martin Hoffman (1973) have provided a heuristic framework for studying the value of children, using nine general categories: (1) adult status and social identity; (2) expansion of the self, tie to a larger entity, immortality; (3) morality (religion, altruism, good of the group; norms regarding sexuality, impulsivity, virtue); (4) primary group ties, affiliation; (5) stimulation, novelty, fun; (6) creativity, accomplishment, competence; (7) power, influence, effectance; (8) social comparison, competition; and (9) economic utility. The point of departure for the present study was the conceptual scheme provided by Hoffman and Hoffman.

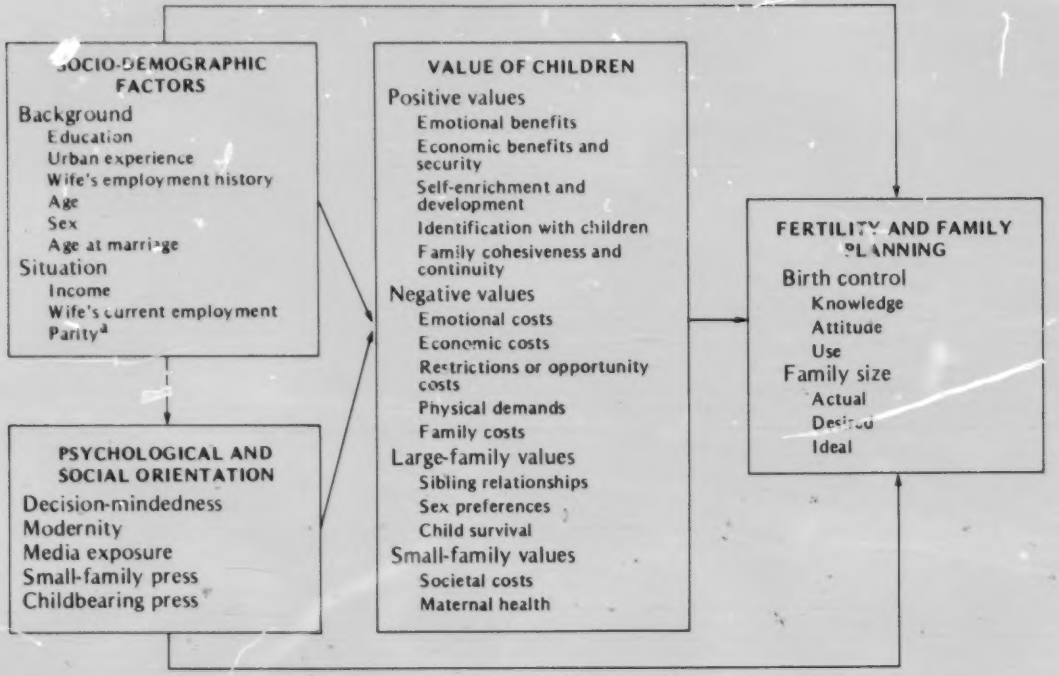
The complexity of the value of children and its correlates makes taxonomic classification difficult, but Figure 1.1 attempts to provide heuristic clues to understanding. In this model, the values of children are assumed to intervene between socio-demographic variables and socio-psychological orientations on one hand, and family planning and family-size variables on the other. The socio-demographic factors, in combination with an individual's social and psychological orientations, are viewed as antecedents of the value-of-children dimensions. The conceptual model depicted in Figure 1.1 is not intended to be a complete model of fertility behavior, but is meant to suggest research questions and highlight anticipated relations among the four clusters of variables.

This volume will describe findings from the VOC survey conducted in the Republic of Korea in 1972. The remainder of this chapter describes the research method, sample selection, questionnaire, fieldwork, and data processing. Chapter 2 is devoted to the description of values and disvalues of children, which is followed by a description of economic benefits and costs of children (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 presents respondents' family-size preferences and their family planning attitudes, knowledge, and practices. In Chapter 5 regression analyses are used for prediction of fertility-related variables, with the background variables and VOC variables as predictors. Chapter 6 summarizes the findings in Korea and presents some tentative recommendations for population policy.

Method

Data were obtained from 378 young husbands and wives, who were

Figure 1.1 Conceptual model for the Value of Children Study



a Parity may be considered a situational variable or a family-size variable, but not both at the same time.

interviewed during December 1972 and January 1973. In most cases, both the husband and wife were interviewed.

The questionnaire covered a number of areas.[1] Two open-ended questions were used to elicit the advantages and disadvantages of having children as opposed to not having them. A Likert-type attitude scale consisting of 45 items was used to tap beliefs about the functions of children and childbearing. A set of 26 items in which respondents were asked to rate degree of importance to themselves covered motives for having or not having more children. Other questions were reasons for wanting sons or daughters, reasons why most people want children, reasons for wanting a certain number of children rather than more or fewer, advantages to the children of coming from large or small families, expected economic contributions from children, and estimates of the costs of childrearing. These questions provided several means of measuring the value of children.

Other major topics covered by the questionnaire were family-size variables and family planning practices. The former included the number of living children, number of additional children wanted, number of children desired if the couple could start their family again, ideal number of sons and daughters and the gender sequence desired, and definitions of small and large families. Family planning practices included past, present, and anticipated contraceptive practice, knowledge of different contraceptive methods, and attitudes toward contraception and abortion.

Finally, the questionnaire sought information about such sociodemographic background characteristics as age, education, marital history, occupation, income, religion, and urban and rural experience. Also included were a few questions on communication between spouses and decision making.

The original questionnaire was developed in English, translated into Korean, and pretested. It was then revised and independently back-translated into English. Country-specific questions were added to the final version, which was, of course, again translated into Korean. The country-specific questions included 35 items on childrearing opinions, 15 items pertaining to the age at which parents would allow their children to perform certain activities, and 10 items on values related to human relationships. In addition, there were 2 questions about the kinds of sons and daughters respondents considered to be most desirable,

1 The core questionnaire used in all six countries is reproduced as Appendix A of Arnold et al. (1975).

13 questions concerning the socioeconomic status of rural respondents, and a checklist of modern consumer durables utilized by the family.

The sample was designed to compare three groups of respondents – urban middle-class, urban lower-class, and rural. The original intention was to interview 60 couples in each group. Residential areas and socioeconomic status (SES) were the major sampling considerations. Area types and SES were each divided into two categories, urban and rural for residential areas and middle and lower for respondents' SES in urban areas. Criteria for differentiating respondents' SES were income, education, occupation, and home ownership (Table 1.1). The criterion for dividing income levels into middle and lower groups was based on statistics indicating that the average income for a city household in 1971 was about 43,000 won (US$108) per month.

Urban samples were drawn from Seoul, the capital, and rural samples from South Jeonra Province in the southern part of Korea. Among the 317 *dongs* (boroughs) in Seoul, Whagog-Dong with a population of about 15,000 was selected as the urban middle-class area and Changshin-Dong with a population of about 14,800 was chosen as the urban lower-class area. According to city records, Whagog-Dong is a recently developed sector and its inhabitants are predominantly middle class, as defined in Table 1.1. Changshin-Dong is a slum area characterized by shacks and apartments built by the city government for low-income people. A large portion of its inhabitants receive social welfare.

For the rural sample, an area having the following characteristics was sought: a predominantly agricultural community lagging some-

Table 1.1 Criteria used to define two urban samples

Indices	Urban middle class	Urban lower class
Family income (won[1])	50,000–100,000 per month	30,000 per month
Education (husband's and wife's)	High school graduate	Junior high school (non-graduate) or lower level
Occupation (husband's)	Professional, clerk, other white-collar worker, owner of large store	Wage worker, semi-skilled or unskilled laborer, owner of small store
Housing	Owner of moderately priced house	Renter or owner of low-grade apartment or shack

1 1,000 won = US$2.50.

what behind the urban areas in modernization and geographically isolated so that its inhabitants would have transportation difficulties. Dam-Yang Gun (one of 22 *guns*, or counties, of South Jeonra Province) was accordingly chosen. It is located in a rice-growing area about 370 kilometers south of Seoul. From 11 *myuns* (townships) in Dam-Yang Gun, two *myuns*, Kum-Sung and Chang-Pyung, were chosen. Kum-Sung is a farming area that has somewhat poorer educational and social facilities than the surrounding *myuns*, whereas Chang-Pyung has both farming and small businesses. According to *myun* officials, Chang-Pyung is one of the most traditional areas of South Jeonra Province.

Each urban *dong* has many *tongs* (districts). A *tong* is a small administrative area and our second-stage sampling unit. Among the 15 *tongs* in Whagog-Dong, the urban middle-class area, we selected five in which the proportion of middle-class residents was high. In Changshin-Dong, six *tongs* having a high proportion of lower-class residents were selected from a total of 19 *tongs*. All eligible respondents—an eligible couple consisted of a husband 20 to 44 years old and a wife from 20 to 34, who had at least one child—were selected from household registers and rated by *dong* officials according to the four SES criteria of income, education, occupation, and home ownership. This rescreening was intended to eliminate urban lower-class respondents in the urban middle-class area and middle-income respondents in the urban lower-income area. For each urban sample, about three times the number of couples to be interviewed were randomly selected. Sixty couples were interviewed in the urban middle-class area and 66 in the urban lower-class areas (Table 1.2).

For the rural sample, villages and eligible respondents in each village were selected with the help of local family planning workers. Seven villages in Kum-Sung *myun* and three in Chang-Pyung *myun* were chosen. The eligibility criteria were the same as for the urban sample. Nearly twice as many respondents as were needed were selected randomly from

Table 1.2 Number of persons interviewed

SES	Wives	Husbands	Both sexes
Urban middle	60	60	120
Urban lower	66	66	132
Rural	63	63	126
Total	189	189	378

the household registers of the ten villages. Sixty-three couples—30 in Kum-Sung and 33 in Chang-Pyung—were finally interviewed.

Interviews were carried out during December 1972 and January 1973 by a group of 28 trained interviewers and five supervisors. In the urban areas, eight male and eight female interviewers were employed, all of whom were college seniors and most of whom had previously worked on the pretest of the VOC study. The sex of an interviewer was usually matched with the sex of a respondent, and a team of interviewers consisted of one man and one woman working together. In the rural areas, six male and six female interviewers were employed, all of whom were seniors at the local teachers' college.

Interviewer training began with two days of classroom instruction. These sessions consisted of discussions of such topics as the importance of the survey, interviewing techniques, an item-by-item review of the questionnaire, and role playing among the interviewers. Afterward, interviewers were sent to the field for half a day, where they conducted at least one practice interview. The actual interviews lasted from one to one and one-half hours on the average; interviews with rural respondents took longer.

Characteristics of the sample

As shown in Table 1.3, the three SES groups differed in various

Table 1.3 General characteristics of the Korean sample

Characteristic	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Mean age	33.3	32.0	31.7	30.0	34.7	32.4
Mean years of education	15.4	8.0	6.2	8.9	10.7	9.8
Mean years of marriage	6.6	7.3	9.2	7.7	7.7	7.7
Mean number of living children	2.5	2.6	3.4	2.8	2.8	2.8
Mean ideal number of children	2.7	2.9	3.4	3.0	3.1	3.0
Percentage of respondents wanting additional children	19	25	47	30	31	30
Percentage currently practicing contraception	70	44	22	44	46	45
Percentage knowing of a family planning method	100	99	94	95	100	97

aspects. Urban middle-class respondents were slightly older than the other groups, 33.3 years on the average. Rural respondents had been married longer than the other groups (an average of 7.7 years), which indicated they had married earlier. Rural respondents had the most children (3.4), urban middle-class respondents the fewest (2.5). The average ideal number of children was 2.8 for the urban middle class, 2.91 for the urban lower class, and 3.4 for rural respondents. More respondents in the rural sample wanted additional children than in the other groups despite having a larger number of existing children on the average. Seventy percent of urban middle-class respondents were practicing birth control, whereas only 22 percent of their rural counterparts were doing so. All or nearly all respondents in each subgroup knew of at least one family planning method.

2

positive and negative values of children

Both open-ended and structured questions were used to elicit from respondents the values of children that they considered to be important. Open-ended questions were asked at the beginning of the interviews to tap the most salient values of children. A content analysis of responses revealed 49 specific advantages of children that could be coded under nine general categories, and 25 disadvantages falling into eight general categories. These value categories, which were used in all countries participating in the study, included the perceived psychological, economic, and social satisfactions and costs associated with having children (Exhibit 2.A).

Advantages of having children

Respondents were asked to mention "some of the good things or advantages about having children, compared with not having any children at all," and to rank those they mentioned in importance. Although initial answers tended to be rather vague, most respondents were able to name three or four specific advantages of children when probed nondirectively by trained interviewers. Analysis of responses to the open-ended questions was based on frequency of mention (salience) and importance (ranking) of the advantages and disadvantages identified by respondents.

The most frequently mentioned general advantage (Table 2.1) was the happiness, love, and companionship that children provide (cited by 33 percent of the respondents). This was followed by satisfactions

Exhibit 2.A Advantages and disadvantages of having children: major and specific code categories used in the content analysis of responses

ADVANTAGES

Happiness, love, companionship

Companionship, avoidance of loneliness
Love, affection
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom
Relief from strain, distraction from problems
Happiness for individual parent (general)
Happiness for family
Uniqueness, specialness in parent-child relationship

Personal development of parent

Character development, responsibility, maturity, morality
Incentives to succeed, striving to provide for children
Fulfillment of self, completeness as person
Extension of self
Learning from experience of childrearing
Motherhood, fatherhood; adulthood
Proof of fertility, masculinity, femininity

Childrearing satisfactions

Pride in children's accomplishment
Pleasure from growth, development of children
Children to carry out parent's hopes, aspirations
Opportunity to teach, guide, instill values
Satisfaction in one's childrearing ability, accomplishment
Satisfaction in providing for children

Economic benefits, security

Economic help in old age
Companionship, comfort, care in old age
Unspecified help in old age
Economic help (old age not mentioned)
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned)
Help in housework, family chores; practical help
Sharing financial responsibility; insurance, security
Help in family business, farm
Help in taking care of other children
Unspecified help (old age not mentioned)

Benefits to family unit

Children as bond between spouses
Children as reason for, fulfillment of marriage
Children as family life, complete or close-knit family

Exhibit 2.A *(continued)*

Kin group benefits
Continuity of family name
Continuity of family traditions
Enhancement of reputation of family
Having future grandchildren
Children as heirs, someone to inherit family wealth
Religious rituals, ancestor worship
To increase strength, power of kin group
To satisfy desires of spouse
To satisfy desires of other kin

Social, religious influences
Conformity to social norms
Conformity to religious norms
Children as benefits to society

General, intrinsic value of children
Children as treasure, wealth, assets
Instinctive, natural to have children
General wanting, liking children

Other advantages

DISADVANTAGES

Financial costs
Educational costs
General financial costs

Emotional costs
Responsibility of parenthood
Discipline, moral behavior
Health problems of children
Concern over children's future success, happiness
Concern about satisfying children's present wants
Noise, disorder, nuisance
General rearing problems
General emotional strain

Physical demands on parents
Health hazard of pregnancy; maternal health
Physical work, tiredness caused by children

Restrictions on alternative activities
Restrictions on time
Restrictions on travel

Exhibit 2.A *(continued)*

Restrictions on alternative activities *(continued)*
Restrictions on social life, recreation
Restrictions on job, career
Restrictions on personal wants
Restrictions on privacy
General lack of flexibility, freedom

Marital problems
Less time, interaction between spouses
Disagreements over children
General marital problems

Kin group costs, problems of inheritance
Disadvantages relating to, affecting kin group

Societal costs, overpopulation
Disadvantages relating to, affecting society; concern about overpopulation

Other disadvantages

Table 2.1 General advantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned at least one advantage under each of specified major code categories)

Advantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Happiness, love, companionship	35	37	27	35	32	33
Childrearing satisfactions	24	21	20	23	20	22
Personal development of parent	17	14	9	12	14	13
Economic benefits, security	4	10	20	13	10	12
Kin group benefits	6	8	16	6	13	10
Benefits to family unit	10	10	2	8	6	7
Social, religious influences	1	1	4	1	2	2
General, intrinsic value of children	*	*	1	1	*	1

* Less than 1 percent.

derived from childrearing (22 percent) and personal development of the parent (13 percent). Twelve percent of all respondents cited economic benefits and security that children provide. Kin group benefits were mentioned by 10 percent of the sample.

More urban than rural respondents mentioned happiness, love, and companionship, personal development of the parent, and children's contribution to the family unit, whereas more rural than urban respondents cited economic and kin group benefits from children. The three SES groups mentioned childrearing satisfactions with about equal frequency, however. Differences between female and male respondents were minor for the most part. Slightly more women than men mentioned happiness and childrearing satisfactions; economic benefits were also more salient to women. But 13 percent of the male respondents mentioned kin group benefits of children, compared with only 6 percent of the female group.

The most salient specific advantages of children (Table 2.2) were happiness for the family (mentioned by 31 percent), and fun with children or, conversely, avoidance of boredom (29 percent), both of which are categorized as emotional satisfactions. Also salient to 20 percent of respondents were pleasure from the growth and development of children, and incentives to succeed in life. Eighteen percent of the sample mentioned continuity of family name as an advantage of having children. This response was most notable among rural residents (25 percent). Urban middle-class respondents gave relatively more emphasis than the other SES groups to advantages associated with happiness for the family, satisfaction in their childrearing ability, pleasure from the growth and development of children, and having children to carry out the parents' hopes and aspirations. Urban lower-class respondents emphasized the values of play and fun with children, children as incentives to succeed in life, children as a bond between spouses, and companionship and avoidance of loneliness. In addition to continuity of family name, rural respondents mentioned more frequently than the other groups the comfort and care that children provide, both when they are growing up and in the parents' old age, and pride in children's accomplishments. Generally, urban respondents' values were oriented toward the psychological welfare of the family, whereas the rural group's values were oriented more toward the economic and filial instrumentality of children and less toward the roles children play in the affective balance or psychological welfare of the family.

In addition to social class and urban-rural differences, value differences were found between husbands and wives. More wives than hus-

Table 2.2 Specific advantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified advantages)

Advantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Happiness for family	42	33	19	29	34	31
Play, fun with children, avoidance of boredom	20	37	30	35	23	29
Pleasure from growth, development of children	23	19	18	23	17	20
Incentives to succeed, striving to provide for children	25	27	8	18	23	20
Continuity of family name	10	17	25	11	24	18
Children as bond between spouses	19	26	2	19	13	16
Satisfaction in one's childrearing ability, accomplishment	25	13	10	13	19	16
Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	14	18	14	15	15	15
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned)	9	12	15	14	10	12
Pride in children's accomplishments	6	13	16	13	10	12
Love, affection	14	11	9	12	11	11
Relief from strain, distraction from problems	13	14	6	8	14	11
Children to carry out parent's hopes, aspirations	18	8	7	11	11	11
Character development, responsibility, maturity, morality	15	7	2	6	10	8
Companionship, comfort, care in old age	1	7	15	8	7	8

NOTE: Includes only the 15 advantages having highest percentages in the "all respondents" column.

bands mentioned the values of play and fun with children (and its converse, avoidance of boredom), pleasure from the growth and development of children, children as a bond between husband and wife, and the comfort and care that children provide. Husbands, on the other hand, mentioned more frequently than wives continuity of the family name, happiness for the family, incentives to succeed, satisfaction in their childrearing ability, and the relief from strain and distraction from problems that children bring. It appears that wives expected children to play a role in maintaining the affective balance of the family (providing a psychological attachment for their husbands), whereas husbands were more concerned about self-enhancement, self-extension, and the family lineage. In other words, wives were more oriented toward the familial value of children, whereas husbands were oriented more toward the social and instrumental values of children.

The most important general advantages of children for Korean respondents involved various emotional satisfactions that children bring (Table 2.3), with 36 percent assigning first ranking to the category of happiness, love, and companionship. Responses classified under the

Table 2.3 Most important general advantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who ranked general advantages first in importance)

Advantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Happiness, love, companionship	34	42	27	39	34	36
Childrearing satisfactions	29	18	19	22	21	21
Kin group benefits	10	12	17	10	15	13
Economic benefits, security	3	11	21	13	9	11
Personal development of parent	10	8	9	6	10	9
Benefits to family unit	9	8	2	7	5	6
General, intrinsic value of children	3	1	2	1	3	2
Social, religious influences	1	0	3	1	2	2
Other advantages	0	1	0	1	0	1

category of childrearing satisfactions ranked second in importance (21 percent), and those classified as kin group benefits ranked third (13 percent). Relatively little importance was attached to intrinsic values of children or to social and religious influences. In general, the psychologically oriented satisfactions, including emotional gratifications and childrearing satisfactions, were viewed as the most important values.

Satisfactions from raising children were considered to be important by more urban middle-class respondents than the other SES groups, whereas more urban lower-class respondents than others considered happiness, love, and companionship associated with having children to be important. Economic benefits and security emerged as an important advantage for 21 percent of rural respondents. Happiness, love, and companionship, and economic benefits and security were more important to wives than to husbands. For husbands, kin group benefits and personal development through having children were relatively more important.

The two most important specific advantages of having children for the sample at large were happiness for the family and continuity of the family name (Table 2.4). Urban respondents placed more importance on happiness for the family than did rural respondents, but more rural than urban respondents considered continuity of the family name to be important. Urban middle-class respondents attached relatively more importance to satisfaction in one's childrearing ability and accomplishment. In addition to continuity of family name, rural respondents named play and fun with children or, conversely, avoidance of boredom, as one of the most important advantages. The main difference between husbands and wives was in the importance attached to continuity of family name, 12 percent of the husbands citing this value as one of the most important advantages of having children, compared with only 6 percent of the wives. On the other hand, more wives than husbands viewed play and fun with children as an important advantage.

Disadvantages of having children

Just as there were differences of opinion about the advantages of having children, so were there differences about the disadvantages. Respondents were asked to name some of the difficulties or disadvantages connected with having children, as compared with not having children. The first four disadvantages mentioned by respondents were coded into 25 specific categories under eight general headings (Exhibit 2.A).

As seen in Table 2.5, the most salient disadvantage of children, men-

Table 2.4 Most important specific advantages of having children (Percentage of respondents who ranked specified advantages first in importance)

Advantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Happiness for the family	18	17	6	14	14	14
Continuity of family name	6	9	12	6	12	9
Play, fun with children; avoidance of boredom	3	7	11	9	5	7
Satisfaction in one's childrearing ability, accomplishment	15	3	3	6	7	7
Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	5	8	5	6	6	6
Pleasure from growth, development of children	8	6	3	6	6	6
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned)	2	6	6	6	4	5
Relief from strain, distraction from problems	5	6	3	3	6	5
Incentives to succeed, striving to provide for children	6	4	2	3	5	4
Children to carry out parent's hopes, aspirations	6	3	2	4	4	4

NOTE: Includes only the ten advantages having highest percentages in the "all respondents" column.

tioned by 42 percent of all respondents, was emotional costs. Next was financial costs, mentioned by 29 percent. Restrictions on alternative activities were mentioned by 19 percent of all respondents. Other disadvantages received less frequent mention.

The three SES groups showed an interesting response pattern. More lower-class and rural than middle-class respondents cited the financial and emotional costs of children, whereas more middle-class respondents mentioned marital problems and restrictions on alternative activities caused by having children. Differences between the sexes are also noteworthy. More male than female respondents mentioned the emotional and financial costs of children, but more women com-

Table 2.5 General disadvantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned at least one disadvantage under each of specified major code categories)

Disadvantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Emotional costs	35	45	48	39	46	42
Financial costs	18	35	33	24	36	29
Restrictions on alternative activities	32	14	13	26	13	19
Marital problems	9	3	2	5	4	5
Physical demands on parents	5	3	4	6	2	4
Other disadvantages	1	1	1	1	1	1

plained that children limited their freedom to engage in alternative activities and that raising children created physical demands on them.

Among the specific disadvantage categories (Table 2.6), the general financial costs of raising children stand out (mentioned by 46 percent of all respondents). The disvalue of noise, disorder, and nuisance, which was coded under the general heading of emotional costs, was next in salience, with 30 percent. Other specific disadvantages mentioned, in order of frequency, were educational costs, health problems of children, general emotional strain, general rearing problems, and restrictions on travel.

Both lower-class and rural respondents were more concerned about the general and educational costs of children than were middle-class respondents. The former groups also cited noise, disorder, and nuisance caused by children and general rearing problems more frequently than did middle-class respondents. On the other hand, middle-class respondents were much more aware of having less time for interaction between spouses and of the restrictions on their social life. More wives than husbands mentioned children's health problems, restrictions on job, travel, and time, and the physical work and fatigue caused by children. More husbands than wives cited financial costs, noise and disorder, and general rearing problems.

The three most important general disadvantages of having children were the emotional costs of children, the financial costs, and restrictions on alternative activities (Table 2.7). About 40 percent of the respondents ranked the emotional costs—including noise and disorder in

Table 2.6 Specific disadvantages of having children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified disadvantages)

Disadvantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
General financial costs	39	58	44	42	56	46
Noise, disorder, nuisance	22	35	32	26	33	30
Educational costs	8	25	38	20	28	24
Health problems of children	22	20	29	26	21	24
General emotional strain	14	19	17	17	16	17
General rearing problems	6	18	9	9	13	11
Restrictions on travel	19	8	6	16	6	11
Restrictions on time	22	4	6	14	6	10
Restrictions on job, career	8	7	16	15	5	10
General lack of flexibility, freedom	15	14	1	12	8	10
Less time, interaction between spouses	22	3	2	9	9	9
Discipline, moral behavior	5	4	18	9	9	9
Concern over children's future success, happiness	11	6	6	9	6	7
Physical work, tiredness caused by children	9	7	6	13	2	7
Concern about satisfying children's present wants	7	5	6	4	8	6
Restrictions on social life, recreation	13	1	2	7	3	5

NOTE: Includes only the 16 disadvantages having highest percentages in the "all respondents" column.

the family, worries over children's health, and psychological costs associated with satisfying children's needs and concern about their future success—as most important. Thirty-four percent of the sample considered financial costs to be most important. Specifically, they expressed concern over the expense of raising children and giving them a good education. Although respondents had only vague ideas about the actual costs of rearing their children, they indicated that those costs represented a major disadvantage of children. Restrictions on alterna-

Table 2.7 Most important general disadvantages of having children (Percentage of respondents who ranked specified advantages first in importance)

Disadvantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Emotional costs	35	41	44	39	39	40
Financial costs	20	41	42	27	43	34
Restrictions on alternative activities	28	13	8	24	8	16
Marital problems	12	1	1	4	5	5
Physical demands on parents	4	3	4	5	3	4
Societal costs, overpopulation	*	*	*	*	*	*
Kin group costs, problems of inheritance	*	*	*	*	*	*
Other disadvantages	1	1	1	1	1	1

* Less than 1 percent.

tive activities, the third most important disadvantage (ranked first by 16 percent of respondents), included restrictions on travel, time, job, and career; less time for interaction between spouses; and general lack of flexibility and freedom.

Considered important by smaller percentages of respondents were marital problems caused by children and physical demands made by children on parents. Fewer than 1 percent of the sample considered societal costs such as overpopulation to be an important disadvantage.

Differences among SES subgroups on the importance assigned to emotional costs were minor, with slightly more respondents in the lower-class and rural groups considering such costs to be most important. But financial costs were important to 41 and 42 percent, respectively, of the lower-class and rural groups, compared with only 20 percent of the middle class, whereas restrictions on alternative activities were much more important to the middle class than to the other two groups. Forty-three percent of husbands considered financial costs to be the most important disadvantage, compared with only 27 percent of wives. More wives than husbands, on the other hand, attached great importance to restrictions on alternative activities (24 versus 8 percent).

As seen in Table 2.8, the two most serious specific concerns respondents reported were general financial costs and educational costs. Also ranking high in importance were health problems of children, noise and disorder, and general emotional strain caused by children. Lower-class respondents in particular stressed the importance of general financial costs, whereas the rural group emphasized the cost of education. More men than women attached great importance to financial costs (both general and educational), but more women than men were particularly concerned about children's illnesses and restrictions on their own opportunities for travel and career.

Table 2.8 Most important specific disadvantages of having children (Percentage of respondents who assigned first ranking to each disadvantage)

Disadvantage	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
General financial costs	13	27	12	13	21	17
Educational costs	3	8	24	10	14	12
Health problems of children	8	8	13	12	7	10
Noise, disorder, nuisance	8	9	7	8	8	8
General emotional strain	2	8	5	4	6	5
Restrictions on job, career	3	4	4	7	1	4
Restrictions on time	8	2	1	4	3	4
Less time, interaction between spouses	8	*	*	3	4	4
General rearing problems	1	5	4	3	3	3
Restrictions on travel	5	2	2	6	*	3
Discipline, moral behavior	3	2	3	3	3	3
Concern over children's future success, happiness	5	2	2	3	2	3
Concern about satisfying children's present wants	2	1	5	2	3	3
Physical work, tiredness caused by children	3	2	2	4	1	3

NOTE: Includes only the 14 disadvantages having highest percentages in the "all respondents" column.

* Less than 1 percent.

Why others want children

Another open-ended question explored respondents' perceptions of why other people in their community wanted to have children. This question may have served as a projective technique and elicited reasons that respondents were hesitant to attribute to themselves. Responses were coded into the categories used for the advantages of having children, plus a few additional categories (Table 2.9).

Nearly half of the respondents mentioned continuity of family name as a reason for other people to want children. This was followed by happiness for the family (22 percent); the opinion that it is instinctive or natural to have children (13 percent); companionship, comfort, and care in old age (12 percent); and the desire to conform to social norms (12 percent). Two reasons that emerged only when respondents

Table 2.9 Perceived reasons why people in general want children
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified reasons)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Continuity of family name	33	53	59	41	57	49
Happiness for family	32	26	8	26	18	22
Instinctive, natural to have children	18	17	5	11	15	13
Companionship, comfort, care in old age	8	12	17	16	8	12
Conformity to social norms	11	11	13	15	9	12
Satisfaction in one's childrearing ability, accomplishment	18	8	7	8	13	11
Pleasure from growth, development of children	8	14	6	11	8	9
Proof of fertility, masculinity, femininity	1	10	12	9	6	8
Having future grandchildren	14	8	1	4	12	8
Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	8	5	7	4	10	7

were asked about others' motivations for having children were to prove their masculinity or femininity and to have grandchildren.

Respondents clearly perceived others as being concerned about the continuation of their families through children. Since only male children retain the family name upon marriage, however, it is suspected that respondents were speaking of male children when they answered this question. Apparently they believed that the main reason why other people in the community wanted children was to have male children, not just children of either sex.

As expected, differences among SES groups and between sexes emerged in these perceptions of others' motivations. Happiness for the family and the satisfaction and accomplishment of childbearing were more salient to the middle-class group than to the others. More urban lower-class respondents than others mentioned the pleasure associated with the growth and development of children, although other values were more salient to this group. For rural respondents, even more than for the other SES groups, continuity of the family name was perceived as a major fertility motivation. Other motivations they mentioned more frequently than urban respondents were old-age companionship and care, the desire to conform to social expectations, and the need to prove fecundity—reasons that they might not want to admit having themselves.

Reasons for wanting sons and daughters

Not all children are valued equally; parents tend to place different values on sons and daughters. Previous studies in Korea have indicated that most Korean parents have a strong preference for male children (e.g., Chung, Cha, and Lee, 1974; Ham, 1971; Yoon, 1967, 1970).

In the present study, respondents were asked how important it was to have children of each sex. Eighty-eight percent replied that having a boy was very important, whereas only 61 percent said that having a girl was very important. SES differences were apparent in this respect; 96 percent of the rural respondents and 94 percent of the urban lower-class group considered a son to be very important, compared with 78 percent of the urban middle-class group.

Respondents were also asked what they would do if they did not have any sons and kept having daughters. Would they continue having children until a son was born or would they stop after having a certain number of daughters? Twenty-three percent of all respondents said they would continue to have children until a boy came. Hypothetical persistence was highest among rural residents (40 percent) and lowest

among the urban middle-class group (2 percent). Forty-six percent of the respondents said they would persist in efforts to have a son until they had three daughters (3.5 for rural respondents). Although the implication of these results is limited by the fact that many respondents actually had sons, so that this question did not necessarily probe real intentions, they do indicate the potential power of son preference over family planning practice.

To explore the motivations related to sex preference, respondents were asked why it is important to have a boy or a girl. Their answers were coded according to the categories used for advantages of children, with some special categories added. The results are shown in Tables 2.10 (for boys) and 2.11 (for girls).

By far the most frequently mentioned reason for wanting a boy was

Table 2.10 Reasons for wanting boys
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified reasons)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Continuity of family name	49	68	51	49	71	60
Comfort, care (old age not mentioned)	33	35	20	35	22	29
Companionship, comfort, care in old age	6	17	25	21	10	16
Economic help in old age	3	5	13	8	6	7
Continuity of family traditions	16	5	*	5	8	7
Conformity to social norms	10	6	4	6	7	6
Having future grandchildren	9	5	1	3	6	5
Religious rituals, ancestor worship	*	1	13	6	3	5
Sharing financial responsibility; insurance, security	3	9	2	4	5	4
Pride in children's accomplishments	2	3	8	2	6	4

* Less than 1 percent.

to continue the family name (60 percent citing this reason). Slightly more urban lower-class than middle-class and rural respondents, and substantially more male than female respondents mentioned continuity of the family name as a reason for wanting a son. Next in frequency of mention were comfort and care (29 percent) and companionship, comfort, and care in old age (16 percent). Seventy-one percent of male respondents mentioned continuity of family name, whereas only 49 percent of female respondents did so. On the other hand, wives cited comfort, care, and companionship that boys provide more frequently than husbands.

Reasons for wanting a daughter were different (Table 2.11). Forty percent of all respondents said they wanted girls because of their desirable personalities and behavioral qualities. Companionship and closeness to the mother were also mentioned by 32 percent of respondents.

Table 2.11 Reasons for wanting girls
(Percentage of respondents who mentioned specified reasons)

Reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Behavior or personality of girls (positive)	56	31	35	42	37	40
Companionship, closeness to mother	34	32	31	60	3	32
Happiness for the family	22	23	6	8	24	16
Help in housework, family chores; practical help	2	15	31	15	16	16
Love, affection	7	18	6	11	9	10
Parents' preferred sex ratio	10	8	10	8	10	9
Mixture of sexes for benefit of children	11	4	6	3	10	7
Conformity to social norms	2	7	10	4	8	6
Companionship, comfort, care in old age	4	3	8	6	4	5
Uniqueness, specialness in parent-child relationship	*	6	2	3	3	3

* Less than 1 percent.

Other reasons given were happiness for the family (16 percent), help with household chores and practical help (16 percent), and the love and affection that girls bring to parents (10 percent).

More middle-class (56 percent) than lower-class and urban respondents mentioned the behavioral or personal traits of girls, and more middle-class and lower-class than rural respondents mentioned happiness for the family as a reason for wanting daughters. Lower-class respondents in particular wanted the love and affection that daughters give. Daughters' help in housework was more salient to rural and lower-class respondents than to the middle-class group. Differences between wives and husbands are also of interest. Closeness to the mother was cited by 60 percent of the wives but by only 3 percent of the husbands. More women than men emphasized the behavior or personality traits of girls, although here the difference was not so great. Nearly a fourth of the men cited happiness for the family, compared with 8 percent of the women; and more men than women mentioned wanting daughters in order to have a balance of sexes for the benefit of the children.

In short, the results indicate that Korean respondents wanted sons mainly to continue the family name, whereas they wanted daughters mainly for the psychological satisfactions that daughters provide while they remain in the family. In addition, both daughters and sons were wanted for instrumental reasons, sons for the future, and daughters for their practical help while children.

Attitudes toward children

To explore further parents' attitudes toward children and parenthood, an attitude scale was constructed, based on theoretical distinctions proposed by Lois Hoffman and Martin Hoffman (1973), which included nine *a priori* dimensions. The original model was modified slightly by Fawcett, Albores, and Arnold (1972) as a result of their preliminary study with a Hawaii sample. On the basis of the revised model a value-of-children attitude scale of 45 Likert-type items was constructed and used in all six VOC survey countries (Arnold et al., 1975:172–75). Items on this scale were scored from 1 to 7, with 1 representing strong disagreement and 7, strong agreement; a neutral response was scored as 4.

The scale contained a greater number of positive than of negative statements about children and parenthood; it therefore tended to elicit more responses in agreement than disagreement. Items making positive statements about children drew the strongest agreement responses, whereas items about costs of children, alternatives to children

or parenthood, and controls over childbearing drew the weakest positive responses. The mean score (on the seven-point scale) for negative statements was 3.2, compared with a mean score of 5.6 for positive statements.

As shown in Table 2.12, respondents in all subgroups agreed strongly with the statements that children give one a special incentive to succeed in life, raising children is an act of virtue, it is natural for a man to want children, one of the highest purposes in life is to have children, one of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should and should not do, having children is important for perpetuating family traditions, and all the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile. Only the middle-class group agreed strongly with the statement that having children strengthens the marital bond, however. On the other hand, middle-class respondents were the only group who did not strongly agree that having children is the most important function of marriage. Lower-class respondents were the only group to score high on the statement that after becoming a parent a person is less likely to behave immorally. Only rural respondents agreed strongly with the statements that a parent continues living through his children after death and one of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely. Regarding sex differences, female respondents scored higher than males on children as an incentive to succeed in life, having children as one of the highest purposes in life, having children as an important function of marriage, and its being natural for a woman to want children. Men scored higher than women on the statement that it is natural for a man to want children.

Examination of the items scoring in the lowest quartile reveals some interesting patterns. Items eliciting disagreement from most of the subgroups were: most married couples would be happier if they did not have any children, it isn't right to interfere with nature by limiting family size, always having children around is a mental strain, social pressures make parenthood inevitable, childrearing is a boring and tedious job, before having children a couple should consider alternative uses for their money, one of the best things about children is their parental loyalty, and for most people having children is inevitable.

Middle-class respondents disagreed more strongly than the other SES groups with the majority of these items, in particular with the notions that most couples would be happier without children, children's loyalty to parents is one of the best reasons for becoming parents, because of social pressures one does not have much choice about parenthood, having children is a societal duty, a couple should consider

Table 2.12 Mean scores on attitude items scoring in top and bottom quartiles of each subgroup

Item	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male
TOP QUARTILE					
3 Raising children is an act of virtue	6.68	6.35	6.41	6.52	6.44
6 Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life	6.48	6.52	6.67	6.70	6.42
7 It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on	5.67	6.30	6.67	6.24	6.21
8 It is only natural that a man should want children	6.47	6.23	6.36	6.30	6.40
13 All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run	6.13	6.14	6.32	6.20	6.19
14 Having children makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	6.23	na	na	na	na
15 One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	6.35	6.21	6.33	6.40	6.19
18 Having children is the most important function of marriage	na	6.33	6.21	6.30	6.14
22 After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally	na	6.10	na	na	na
28 It is only natural that a woman should want children	na	na	6.37	6.21	5.99
29 Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	6.14	na	na	6.20	na
30 A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	6.14	na	na	na	5.97
33 One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should and should not do	6.37	6.39	6.36	6.36	6.32
34 A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	na	6.34	6.37	na	na
35 A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	na	na	6.07	na	na
36 One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	na	na	6.04	na	na

Table 2.12 *(continued)*

Item	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male
TOP QUARTILE *(continued)*					
40 The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	6.40	6.17	na	6.28	6.15
42 Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	na	6.02	na	na	na
BOTTOM QUARTILE					
1 Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	3.00	3.13	3.39	3.26	3.09
2 A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	2.93	na	na	4.94	na
5 Most married couples would be happier if they did not have any children	1.41	1.59	2.18	1.74	1.72
10 Always having children around is a great mental strain	2.40	2.81	3.20	3.02	2.63
11 Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice about whether or not to have children	2.12	3.24	3.21	3.24	2.51
12 It is a person's duty to society to have children	3.26	4.01	4.89	4.13	3.99
19 Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go	na	4.83	na	na	na
24 For most people, it is inevitable to have children	3.68	3.86	4.42	3.97	4.02
25 One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show their parents	2.58	4.24	4.79	3.98	3.81
27 A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	4.05	na	na	na	na
32 Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else	3.55	3.23	3.81	3.70	3.35

Table 2.12 *(continued)*

Item	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male
BOTTOM QUARTILE *(continued)*					
38 It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have	1.96	2.48	3.32	2.92	2.28
39 When you have children you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy	na	4.94	4.57	na	4.33
41 Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not	3.49	4.14	4.44	4.33	3.74

NOTE: Possible scores range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).
na—not applicable; mean score not included in top or bottom quartile.

whether having a child would interfere with the wife's work, and a couple should not interfere with nature by limiting family size. They were the only group to give a low mean score to the statement that a person with children is more respected in the community than a person without children; on the other hand, they were the only group who did not give a low score to the statement that when you have children you have to give up a lot of other enjoyable things. Rural respondents had somewhat higher scores on most of the items scoring in the bottom quartile than did the middle and lower classes, indicating they agreed with those items more. Lower-class respondents generally scored between the middle-class and rural groups.

Wives expressed more agreement than husbands with most of the items scoring in the bottom quartile. Differences between the two groups were greatest on the statements that owing to pressures from family and friends a person hasn't much choice about whether to have children, it isn't right to interfere with nature by limiting family size, and before having a child a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work. It appears that female respondents felt pronatalist pressures more than men but were also more aware of the sacrifices that children entail.

Factor analysis was used to simplify the interpretation of the data. Factor structures for the total sample were obtained by rotating the principal axis factors to a simple orthogonal structure using the normalized varimax method. The six orthogonal factors obtained from

Table 2.13 Factor structure of 45 attitude items after varimax rotation

Factor and item	Factor I	II	III	IV	V	IV	Communality	Mean
I Continuity, security								
2 A good reason for having children is that they can help when parents are too old to work	.73	−.08	.23	−.00	.10	−.00	.60	4.6
34 A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name	.69	.25	.04	.08	.09	.00	.56	5.9
35 A person can feel that part of him lives on after death if he has children	.66	.16	−.15	.10	.11	−.02	.31	5.5
7 It is important to have children so that the family traditions will live on	.63	.07	−.11	.11	−.02	.08	.43	6.2
27 A person with children is looked up to in the community more than a person without children	.62	.25	.12	.11	−.10	.02	.48	5.1
25 One of the best things about having children is the true loyalty they show to their parents	.61	.04	.32	−.05	.09	.05	.49	3.9
21 A young couple is not fully accepted in the community until they have children	.56	.35	.06	.13	.11	.11	.49	4.9
12 It is a person's duty to society to have children	.53	−.09	−.01	.40	.11	.12	.46	4.0
45 A boy becomes a man only after he is a father	.47	.45	.12	.11	−.10	.05	.46	5.5
36 One of the best things about having children is that you are never lonely	.43	.26	.16	.08	.09	.12	.31	5.8
II Fulfillment of marriage, family integration								
42 Having children is a sign of blessing on a marriage	.29	.68	.01	.05	.08	.00	.56	5.9
18 Having children is the most important function of marriage	.15	.63	.04	.13	.05	.11	.45	6.2

43 The family with children is the only place in the modern world where a person can feel comfortable and happy	.30	**.63**	.04	−.07	−.03	.04	.49	5.7
14 Having children around makes a stronger bond between husband and wife	−.17	**.59**	−.23	.04	.13	.01	.45	5.8
15 One of the highest purposes of life is to have children	.08	**.50**	−.14	.31	.13	−.04	.39	6.3
16 A girl becomes a woman only after she is a mother	.32	**.50**	.10	.25	.12	.22	.48	5.8
40 The really important things in life can be learned only from the experience of raising children	.07	**.46**	−.14	.42	−.01	−.23	.46	6.2
4 It is only with a child that a person can feel completely free to express his love and affection	−.00	**.45**	.15	−.03	.16	−.04	.25	5.5
28 It is only natural that a woman should want children	.26	**.43**	.06	.23	−.04	.18	.34	6.1
6 Having children gives a person a special incentive to succeed in life	.15	**.39**	.01	.18	.09	.05	.22	6.6
31 The family with children is the basis for all that is good in our society	.33	**.36**	−.16	.31	.03	.02	.37	5.9
III Psychological costs of children								
39 When you have children, you have to give up a lot of other things that you enjoy	−.01	.18	**.59**	.09	.00	.31	.43	4.7
19 Children limit you in what you want to do and where you want to go	−.09	.25	**.56**	.14	−.06	.21	.44	5.0
1 Caring for children is a tedious and boring job	−.03	−.04	**.51**	−.06	.00	−.10	.28	3.2
26 Having children causes many disagreements and problems between husband and wife	−.13	−.04	**−.48**	−.10	−.09	−.11	.26	4.8

Table 2.13 *(continued)*

Factor and item	Factor I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Communality	Mean
III Psychological costs of children *(continued)*								
10 Always having children around is a great mental strain	.05	−.11	**.47**	.01	.27	.28	.39	2.8
5 Most married couples would be happier if they did not have any children	−.15	.20	**−.43**	.05	−.05	.11	.27	2.3
38 It isn't right for a couple to interfere with nature by deciding to limit the number of children they will have	.29	−.15	**.36**	−.13	.10	−.10	.27	2.6
11 Considering the pressures from family and friends, a person really doesn't have much choice whether or not to have children	.29	.03	**.24**	−.17	.20	.23	.27	2.9
IV Parental roles, responsibility, satisfaction								
30 A person who has been a good parent can feel completely satisfied with his achievements in life	−.01	.05	.16	**.61**	.00	−.02	.40	5.9
8 It is only natural that a man should want children	.10	.12	−.19	**.56**	.15	.23	.46	6.3
29 Just the feeling a parent gets of being needed is enough to make having children worthwhile	.08	.18	.16	**.52**	.05	−.20	.37	6.0
13 All the efforts a parent makes for his children are worthwhile in the long run	.09	.12	−.13	**.44**	.03	.00	.23	6.2
17 It is the parents' fault if their children are not successful in life	.18	−.05	.18	**.42**	.13	.09	.26	5.1
3 Raising children is an act of virtue	−.10	.31	−.11	**.40**	.00	−.18	.31	6.5

22 After becoming a parent, a person is less likely to behave immorally	.10	.16	.13	**.21**	.06	.14	.12	5.9
V Decision-mindedness toward childbearing								
9 A couple ought to think seriously about the inconveniences caused by children before they have any	.06	.11	−.00	.13	**.77**	.10	.64	5.0
23 The first thing a couple should think about when deciding to have children is whether or not they can afford it	−.04	.11	−.05	.18	**.73**	.05	.59	5.5
41 Before having a child, a couple should consider whether it would interfere with the wife's work or not	.14	.13	.34	.02	**.57**	−.20	.51	4.0
32 Before having a child, a couple should consider whether they would rather use their money for something else	.06	.08	.17	−.01	**.27**	.00	.11	3.5
VI Fatalism								
37 Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people	.07	.10	.19	.20	.18	**.61**	.49	5.9
24 For most people, it is inevitable to have children	.17	.04	−.03	−.13	.03	**.60**	.42	4.0
44 A person who has no children can never really be happy	.41	.26	−.06	.03	−.21	**.46**	.49	5.1
33 One of the best things about being a parent is the chance to teach children what they should and should not do	.11	.25	.05	.24	.18	**−.33**	.27	6.3
20 Life for most people would be pretty dull without children	−.05	.29	−.02	.28	−.12	**.28**	.26	5.9

this procedure accounted for approximately 40 percent of the total variance. The factor structures and respective varimax factor loadings are presented in Table 2.13.

Factor I summarizes the instrumental roles of children, who meet the needs of parents and society by preserving family traditions, continuing the family name, providing economic security in old age, and extending one's influence through children. This factor accounts for the largest proportion of the variance and reflects deeply ingrained, traditional attitudes toward children and families. Also highly loaded in this factor is a second element related to the social value of children. Children are regarded as instrumental for social comparison and competition by being the source of parental pride and social acceptance. This factor implies a strong preference for male children, since the item contents are highly, if not exclusively, relevant to the filial instrumentality of male children. Although the second item (A man has a duty to have children to continue the family name) is ambiguous, it implies that a man should have male children, of whom he can be proud because of the benefits males provide for the family and the community. Factor I is labeled *continuity and security.*

Factor II comprises the aesthetic-expressive roles that children play in providing happiness, integration, and psychological welfare for the family. It is the strengthening of primary group ties and affection that is emphasized in this factor, which suggests that marriage is only one step in fulfilling the obligations of adulthood. By bearing children, a couple demonstrates that their marriage is good, their family happy, and their course in life firmly grounded. Children, then, play a vital role in fulfilling these important goals. This factor may be called *fulfillment of marriage and family integration.*

Factor III describes potential adverse psychological consequences of having children or having too many children, the perception of which may have come from respondents' own experiences as parents or from their perceptions of others. This factor reflects the restrictions and emotional strains that children place on their parents. Disagreements between spouses in Korean families often center around the problems their children cause, which lead to emotional stress for the parents. This factor is named *psychological costs of children.*

Factor IV seems to define the roles and responsibilities of parents and the satisfactions of childrearing. These roles and responsibilities are not only essential to the respect that Korean parents receive from others, but also accepted in the sense that raising children is intrinsically rewarding and worthwhile. Factor IV appears to be the basis

on which other values of children are formed. This factor is designated *parental roles, responsibility, and satisfaction.*

Factor V concerns the ability to assess alternatives to childbearing. Since having children involves many psychological and economic costs, a couple must be aware of these costs and weigh them carefully when deciding whether or not to have children. Although some couples may not give serious thought to the alternatives of parenthood before having a child, many are realistic enough to foresee the consequences. A peculiarity of this factor is that the items it comprises do not relate to the value of children *per se,* but rather to action in regard to childbearing. This factor is named *decision-mindedness toward childbearing.*

The last factor, which has been labeled *fatalism,* is difficult to interpret. It appears to be a mixture of two concepts that seem accidentally related, a fatalistic view of childbearing and the financial burden of children. Closer scrutiny of the latent meaning of these two items, within the Korean cultural context, reveals that they are not necessarily incompatible. Most Koreans regard having children as almost inevitable. It is difficult for a married couple to escape the pressures to have children, even if they wish to. If Koreans consider childbearing to be natural behavior, they will have as many children as nature dictates. Thus raising children means raising many children, which is perceived as a burden by most people. Having children is inevitable, and so is the financial burden that children entail.

Attitude differences among subgroups

The six factors were derived from data on the entire Korean sample. An analysis of variance was used to compare mean scores on each factor by social class, sex, and parity of respondents. The analysis revealed that the three SES and two sex groups differed significantly in their scores on factors I, II, and V (Table 2.14). Rural respondents scored higher than the two urban subgroups on continuity and security, whereas urban respondents placed more importance than the rural group on family integration and happiness. In addition, middle-class respondents expressed greater concern than others about decision-mindedness toward childbearing. Significant differences between husbands and wives are shown in these three factors and in a fourth, psychological costs. Women seemed more concerned about continuity and security, family integration and happiness, and psychological costs of children. Men were more concerned about decision-making in childbearing. Mean scores on the other factors (parental roles and fatalism) were not differentiated, implying that the various

Table 2.14 Analysis of variance of mean scores for each factor, by subgroup

Factor	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	F^a SES	F^a Sex
I Continuity, security	4.2	5.3	5.6	5.2	4.9	66.55*	7.14*
II Fulfillment of marriage, family integration	6.0	6.0	5.7	6.0	5.8	5.02*	6.78*
III Psychological costs of children	3.9	3.9	4.1	4.2	3.7	3.01	25.5*
IV Parental roles, responsibility, satisfaction	6.1	5.9	5.9	6.0	6.0	1.43	.43
V Decision-mindedness toward childbearing	5.6	4.8	5.0	5.0	5.3	8.31*	3.63
VI Fatalism	4.9	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.0	.55	.01

* Significant at .01 level.

a *F* ratio from one-way analyses of variance, separately across SES and sex groups.

subgroups felt, to a similar degree, the responsibilities, pride, and satisfactions of parenthood while also experiencing its inevitability and the financial burden of childrearing.

It was hypothesized that the number of children respondents had borne would also differentiate their attitudes toward children. To test this relationship, two extreme parity groups, those with one or two children (low parity group) and those with five or more (high parity group), were chosen from the total sample. Mean scores on the attitude factors for each parity group were calculated and subjected to a *t* test.

Table 2.15 reveals significant subgroup differences in the factors of family integration and happiness, psychological costs, parental roles, and decision-mindedness, but not in continuity and security or fatalism. The low-parity group placed relatively more emphasis on the fulfillment of marriage and family integration, parental roles and responsibility, and decision-mindedness, while the high-parity group emphasized the psychological costs of children. Although this was not a longitudinal study, these differences between the two parity groups suggest that parents' perceptions of the value of children change as

Table 2.15 Mean score and standard deviation for each factor, by parity group

Factor	Low parity[a] (N=162)	High parity[b] (N=34)	*t*
I Continuity, security	4.82 (1.17)	5.08 (2.05)	1.01
II Fulfillment of marriage, family integration	5.87 (.93)	4.93 (2.07)	4.12*
III Psychological costs of children	3.90 (.90)	4.33 (.92)	2.51†
IV Parental roles, responsibility, satisfaction	5.89 (.91)	5.28 (2.06)	2.70*
V Decision-mindedness toward childbearing	4.96 (1.36)	3.79 (2.06)	4.11*
VI Fatalism	4.94 (1.35)	5.03 (2.08)	.32

† Significant at .05 level.
* Significant at .01 level.
a One or two children.
b Five or more children.

parity increases. They indicate that parents with small families receive marital and personal satisfactions without incurring major psychological or financial liabilities, whereas couples with large families experience more of the psychological costs of childrearing. How parents perceive the value of children as their parity increases is an interesting topic to be investigated more fully in the second phase of the study.

Parity-specific reasons for wanting and not wanting children

Thus far we have considered general motives for having children. However, decisions about whether to have additional children are influenced not only by these general motives, but also by motivations related to family size. Respondents' desired family size was ascertained by a question asking whether they wanted additional children and, if so, how many.

To probe parity-specific values, respondents were first asked to state their reasons for not wanting more or fewer than the number of children they desired. The most frequently mentioned reason for not

wanting fewer than the specified number (Table 2.16) was a desire for more boys (30 percent of respondents). Other salient responses were that the desired number of children appealed to respondents or that they simply wanted that number (22 percent), and that they wanted a particular combination of boys and girls (19 percent). These reasons may indicate that respondents experienced normative pressures to have a particular family size or sex combination.

More middle-class respondents than others wanted to have additional children to avoid having an only child or to have more boys, and they were more confident than other respondents that they could afford the number of children they desired. Unlike the rural and lower-class groups, middle-class parents did not seem to be concerned about the possibility of infant mortality. Nor did they mention the desire for companionship or care in old age. Lower-class respondents in particu-

Table 2.16 Reasons for not wanting fewer than desired number of children
(Percentage of respondents wanting another child who mentioned specified reasons

Reason	Urban middle (N=23)	Urban lower (N=33)	Rural (N=59)	Female (N=57)	Male (N=58)	All respondents (N=115)
Want more boys	38	26	29	33	27	30
Good number to have, want that number	17	27	20	21	22	22
Want particular combination of boys and girls, balance	21	15	20	24	14	19
Companionship for other children	8	18	10	11	14	12
Can afford that number, able to raise that many	17	9	12	16	9	12
Anxiety over infant mortality	*	12	15	14	10	12
To avoid an only child	21	12	3	10	8	9
Companionship, avoidance of loneliness	*	9	3	4	5	5
Companionship, comfort, care in old age	*	*	9	2	7	4

* Less than 1 percent.

lar wanted to have the number of children they considered to be "good" (a response that begged the question), and for companionship for existing children. Rural respondents were the only group who mentioned security in old age as a reason why the number of children they desired was not smaller. Quite understandably, the rural group was also the most concerned about infant mortality.

Examination of the differences between female and male respondents' reasons for not wanting fewer than the desired number of children reveals that more women than men wanted more boys or the "right" sex combination, thought they could afford to raise the desired number of children, and were anxious about possible infant deaths. Relatively more men, on the other hand, mentioned companionship for existing children as a reason.

Having too many children may lead to adverse consequences for the parents. When respondents were asked why they would not want more than the desired number of children, over half (53 percent) cited financial costs of childrearing in general and 39 percent mentioned educational costs in particular (Table 2.17). A third frequently mentioned reason was to have the correct number of children for rearing, ease of handling, and happiness—a rather vague response.

For rural respondents, both general and educational economic costs were especially salient reasons for limiting desired family size, but this group also expressed more concern than the other two SES groups about the general emotional strains and disorders caused by too many children. Urban lower-class respondents were most concerned about having the optimal number of children for rearing, and mentioned more frequently than the other groups the rearing problems that too many children can create. Middle-class respondents placed much greater emphasis than others on the health hazards of pregnancy for the wife and restrictions on parents' time, in particular the loss of time for interaction between spouses. They also mentioned overpopulation as a concern more frequently than lower-class and rural respondents.

The economic consequences of having too many children were serious enough to keep most respondents (60 percent) from wanting more children. The proportion not wanting more ranged from 81 percent among the middle class to 53 percent among the rural group (Table 1.3). Those not wanting more were asked for their reasons (Table 2.18). The main reasons were the high cost of raising children (62 percent), satisfaction with the number (33 percent) or sex ratio (27 percent) of children already born, and the cost of children's education (26 percent). Urban lower-class respondents were the most concerned about

Table 2.17 Reasons for not wanting more than desired number of children
(Percentage of respondents wanting another child who mentioned specified reasons)

Reason	Urban middle (N=23)	Urban lower (N=33)	Rural (N=59)	Female (N=57)	Male (N=58)	All respondents (N=115)
General financial costs	39	30	71	51	55	53
Educational costs	17	18	57	44	34	39
To have the correct number of children for rearing; ease of handling, happiness	44	55	22	33	38	36
General rearing problems	4	12	3	9	3	6
Health hazard of pregnancy; maternal health	26	*	5	3	12	8
General emotional strain	*	3	12	5	9	7
Noise, disorder, nuisance	*	*	10	5	5	5
Concern about overpopulation, other social problems	8	6	2	4	5	5
Physical work, tiredness caused by children	4	6	3	7	2	4
Restrictions on time	17	*	*	3	4	4
Less time, interaction between spouses	8	*	*	2	2	2

* Less than 1 percent.

the overall economic costs of childrearing, but the rural group had the greatest concern about educational costs. All SES groups cited the emotional strain, the work and fatigue, and the rearing problems they feared another child would mean; but the urban groups placed more emphasis than rural respondents on the negative effects of another child on the psychological well-being of existing children, while the rural group was more concerned about the adverse effects on the parents. More middle-class respondents than others mentioned overpopulation or other social problems as a reason for not wanting another child, indicating that they were more concerned about social issues than the other SES groups. Greater proportions of both middle-class and rural than of lower-class respondents said they already had the

Table 2.18 Reasons for not wanting another child
(Percentage of respondents not wanting another child who mentioned specified reasons)

Reason	Urban middle (N=23)	Urban lower (N=33)	Rural (N=59)	Female (N=57)	Male (N=58)	All respondents (N=115)
Overall costs of raising children too high	54	73	61	61	62	62
To have the correct number of children for rearing, ease of handling and happiness	39	33	26	34	30	33
Already have number of children wanted/enough boys and girls	32	8	27	24	29	27
Children's educational costs too high	18	24	43	26	25	26
Overpopulation or other social problems	21	8	3	10	13	12
Pregnancy physically demanding, bad for maternal health	14	2	10	10	7	9
General emotional strain	1	9	7	6	5	6
Spouse doesn't want more children	6	7	*	7	2	5
Physical work and tiredness caused by children	8	3	2	8	2	5
General rearing problems	4	5	2	5	2	3

* Less than 1 percent.

number of children or number of sons and daughters they wanted; but it should be borne in mind that among the rural group parity was already higher (3.4 children, on the average) than it was among the middle class (2.5) or the lower class (2.6).

Differences between wives and husbands were minor. Slightly more women than men mentioned wanting the correct number of children for ease of handling, the physical strain of pregnancy, the work and fatigue caused by children, the husband's desire not to have more children, and general rearing problems. Slightly more men than women mentioned already having the number of children or sex composition wanted, and overpopulation or other social problems.

Important reasons for wanting and not wanting additional children

Structured questions were also used to probe parity-specific fertility motives. All respondents, whether they wanted another child or not, were shown a list of 17 reasons for wanting another child and nine reasons for not wanting another child, and asked to rate the importance of each.

Rated as the most important reasons for wanting another child (Table 2.19), in rank order, were to carry on the family name and traditions, to help one learn about life and oneself, to have a boy or another boy, and the fun of having children around the house. Most respondents rated as unimportant pressures from relatives and religious groups to have more children.

Table 2.19 Reasons for wanting another child, by degree of importance
(Percentage of respondents who rated specified reasons as very important, somewhat important, and not important

Reason	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
To carry on family name, traditions	51	26	23
To help me learn about life and myself	41	36	22
Want a boy/another boy	34	27	39
Fun to have children around house	33	41	24
For special feeling between parent and child	25	45	29
To have child to help me in my old age	24	27	48
Enjoy caring for, raising children	23	44	32
To share what I have and know with children	22	35	43
Want companion for my child/children	19	42	39
Enjoy having a small baby	17	40	43
To make my marriage stronger	17	31	52
Spouse wants more children	16	30	53
To have enough children survive to adulthood	15	29	56
Want a girl/another girl	14	27	59
One more person to help family economically	11	25	63
My religious duty to have children	8	15	76
Relatives feel I should have more children	5	18	76

Among the reasons for not wanting another child (Table 2.20), the financial burden to the family, inability to give enough attention and care to existing children, the emotional strain, and the problems it would cause between spouses were most important. Lack of time to spend with one's spouse and loss of freedom to do other enjoyable things were considered least important.

We anticipated that reasons for wanting and not wanting additional children would be related to number of living children (parity). We therefore conducted an analysis to identify items that significantly differentiated those wanting or not wanting additional children, within the lower-parity (one to three children) and higher-parity (four or more children) groups. Comparison of significant differences in mean scores showed that lower-parity respondents who wanted more children (compared with those who did not want more) thought that another child would make their marriage stronger, had a stronger belief that their spouse wanted more children, and were more motivated by a special feeling of love between parents and children. On the other hand, for lower-parity respondents who did not want another child, the reasons scored more important by them, compared with those who did want a child, were that another child would restrict their freedom

Table 2.20 Reasons for not wanting another child, by degree of importance
(Percentage of respondents who rated specified reasons as very important, somewhat important, and not important)

Reasons for not wanting	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
Financial burden to family	60	30	10
Would not be able to give enough attention, care to other children	56	30	13
Would be emotional strain for me	37	44	19
Would cause problems, strains between me and spouse	35	43	22
Spouse does not want more	25	34	41
Would be a lot of work, bother for me	21	48	32
Concern about overpopulation	21	34	44
Would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	16	35	48
Could not spend as much time with spouse	10	35	55

and the time they could spend with their spouses. Higher-parity respondents who wanted more children said they did so because another child would assure them of economic security and psychological satisfaction in old age, and because they wanted to share their possessions and knowledge with children. On the other hand, higher-parity respondents who did not want another child considered it more important that another child would burden the family financially, that the physical and psychological costs of childrearing would be greater, and that they would not be able to give enough care and attention to existing children.

Fixed-effects model analysis of variance in mean scores was carried out on reasons for wanting and not wanting another child, by subgroup (Table 2.21). The reasons for wanting another child that best differentiated the socioeconomic groups were continuation of family name and traditions, wanting a boy, expected help from child in old age, religious duty, sharing with children, and survival of children to adulthood. On all these reasons, rural respondents scored highest, middle-class respondents lowest. The reasons best differentiating female and male respondents were child's help in old age, religious duty, the the expressive (as compared with instrumental) role of children in parent-child and interspouse relationships, women attaching more importance to these reasons than men.

With respect to reasons for not wanting another child, financial burden to the family, problems and strains between spouses, and inability to care properly for existing children were significantly more important to lower-class and rural respondents than to the middle class. Middle-class respondents, on the other hand, were significantly more concerned about the loss of time with spouse than the other two groups. The reasons that best differentiated the sexes were restrictions of freedom, emotional strain, and work and bother. Women scored higher on these reasons than men, thus indicating they were more aware of problems associated with having another child.

Summary and discussion

Korean respondents revealed diverse positive and negative values of children, reasons for wanting sons and daughters, and perceptions of other people's motives for having children. When the sex of children was not specifically mentioned in questions used in the study, respondents generally gave more emphasis to children's roles in contributing to family dynamics (e.g., providing happiness for the family and companionship) and motivating parents to achieve certain goals (e.g., ef-

Table 2.21 Means and significance of subgroup differences for reasons for wanting and not wanting another child
(Analysis of variance)

Subgroup and reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Subgroup differences[a] SES	Sex
WANTING							
Enjoy having a small baby	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.7	ns	ns
To carry on family name, traditions	1.9	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.4	*	ns
Want a boy/another boy	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.9	*	ns
Want a girl/another girl	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.5	ns	ns
Relatives feel I should have more children	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3	ns	ns
To have child to help me in my old age	1.3	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.7	*	*
My religious duty to have children	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.3	*	*
One more person to help family economically	1.1	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.5	†	ns
To make my marriage stronger	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.5	ns	*
Want companion for my children	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.8	ns	ns
Enjoy caring for, raising children	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1	1.8	ns	*
Spouse wants more children	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.5	ns	*
Fun to have children around house	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.0	ns	*
To help me learn about life and myself	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.1	ns	ns
For special feeling between parent and children	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.8	ns	*
To share what I have and know with children	1.6	1.7	2.0	2.0	1.7	*	*

Table 2.21 *(continued)*

Subgroup and reason	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	Subgroup differences[a] SES	Sex
WANTING *(continued)*							
To have enough children survive to adulthood	1.3	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.5	*	*
NOT WANTING							
Financial burden to family	2.3	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	*	ns
Spouse does not want more	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.8	ns	ns
Would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.5	ns	*
Would be a lot of work, bother for me	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.9	†	†
Could not spend as much time with spouse	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	*	ns
Concern about overpopulation	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	ns	ns
Would be emotional strain for me	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.1	ns	*
Would not be able to give enough attention, care to other children	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	†	ns
Would cause problems, strains between me and spouse	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.1	*	ns

† Significant at .05.

* Significant at .01.

ns—nonsignificant.

a Significance levels shown by analysis of variance.

forts to support the children). But when the sex of children was specified, respondents tended to emphasize instrumental values of children—continuity of family name and comfort and care in old age (boys), and affective balance in the family and practical help with housework (girls). This pattern of results was repeated in respondents' perceptions

of other people's motives for having children. Two reasons stood out among various benefits derived from children: continuity of family name and happiness for the family.

Respondents also viewed the value of children from several time perspectives. Children were seen as providing parents with present happiness and emotional satisfactions. In addition, male children were viewed as the future means of preserving the family name and providing comfort to parents in old age. Looking at these results from the perspective of long-term benefits from children, it is no wonder that boys have been more valued in Korean culture than girls, for they not only bring happiness to the family but also have the indispensable utility of passing on the family name and guaranteeing security to their parents in old age.

Subgroup differences were striking. Middle-class respondents emphasized the happiness children bring to a family and the personal growth and development that parents derive from raising children. Their concerns focused on self-enhancement and growth, a sort of self-actualization. Lower-class respondents stressed the pleasure and fun of raising children and the strengthening of the marital relationship through children. Considering that alternative activities such as travel may not have been available to them, their emphasis on these values is understandable. Although rural respondents showed certain similarities to the lower class, they attached greater importance to economic help, the comfort and care that children provide to parents, and continuity of family name guaranteed by having sons. Hence it can be said that they looked for security in children.

Male respondents were more concerned about preserving the family name and fostering personal development through children. Female respondents, on the other hand, were more concerned about bringing happiness to the family, finding pleasure in rearing children, and strengthening the marital relationship. They also wanted the comfort and care of sons.

Content analysis of negative values of children revealed these to be less rich and diverse than the positive values. Costs mentioned and emphasized by respondents were the financial and emotional burden associated with raising children. Respondents were also concerned about restrictions on alternative activities, including jobs and recreation. Although no criterion is available to make a strict comparison of the importance of negative and positive values of children, analysis of the number of values mentioned and ranked by respondents indicates that positive values of children outweighed the negative values.

The subgroups identified and emphasized different disadvantages of children. Middle-class respondents were more aware of problems associated with restrictions on their activities and interaction between spouses. Both lower-class and rural respondents reported the financial and emotional burdens of childrearing as chief disadvantages and were concerned in particular about the cost of educating their children. In addition, rural respondents said that children restricted their job opportunities. Male respondents stressed the financial burden and problems associated with childrearing, whereas female respondents emphasized concerns about children's health and restrictions on their own activities.

Responses to the VOC attitude items revealed similar patterns. Factor analysis of the items yielded six factors: (I) continuity and security; (II) fulfillment of marriage and family integration; (III) psychological costs of children; (IV) parental roles, responsibility, and satisfaction; (V) decision-mindedness toward childbearing; and (VI) fatalism. Factor IV was first in importance, followed by factor II. Factor III was assigned least importance by all respondents. These results suggest that Korean respondents were more concerned about fulfilling parental roles and having a complete family than about the psychological costs associated with rearing children.

Finally, respondents' reasons for wanting and not wanting another child reinforced some of the findings obtained from responses to questions about the general advantages and disadvantages of children.

3

economic benefits and costs of children

Until recently Korea was a predominantly agricultural society in which children were often desired as a source of labor. Recent industrialization, however, may have changed Koreans' economic perceptions of children. Economic theories suggest that with modernization the economic utility of children tends to decrease while the costs of children rise. In economically developing societies, costs of rearing children are often minimal, whereas in economically developed societies, children are much more expensive to raise. This chapter will consider how Korean parents participating in the VOC Study perceived the economic value of children.

Economic benefits of children

Most respondents hesitated to disclose that they expected economic assistance from their children, but their responses to indirect questions revealed that childbearing decisions were indeed influenced by such expectations. Two items in the VOC attitude scale served as indices of parents' economic considerations. Respondents were asked if before having children couples should consider whether they can afford them and whether they would rather use their money for something else. Some 82 percent of the respondents agreed that couples should consider economic costs before having children, with little difference among subgroups; and 43 percent of the respondents endorsed the consideration of alternatives to children. Thus, although a large majority of respondents showed an inclination to consider economic costs asso-

ciated with having children, most did not seem to be ready to consider alternatives to childbearing.

Table 3.1 compares results from different types of questions pertaining to economic benefits of children. When old-age assistance was not given as a reference, only 4 percent of respondents spontaneously mentioned such assistance. But in response to a structured question, 24 percent said that old-age assistance was a very important reason for wanting another child. Many more rural respondents (43 percent) than urban lower-class (26 percent) or urban middle-class respondents (3 percent) gave old-age economic assistance as an important reason for wanting another child. When respondents were specifically asked whether they expected to rely on their children in old age, 23 percent replied in the affirmative. More lower-class and rural than middle-class respondents, and more women than men, said they expected to rely

Table 3.1 Perceived economic benefits of children
(Percentage of respondents, by selected measures)

Measure	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Mentioned assistance in old age among advantages of children	1	2	8	3	5	4
Rated help in old age as very important reason for wanting another child	3	26	43	29	20	24
Expected to rely on children in old age[a]	14	30	25	28	19	23
Did not expect to rely at all on children in old age	57	33	23	30	45	37
Mentioned general economic benefits and security among advantages of children	3	11	21	13	9	11
Rated having one more person to help the family economically as very important reason for having another child	15	20	15	20	13	17

a Percentages reported here are based on responses to a single question, whereas those reported in Table 4.2 of Volume 1 (Arnold et al., 1975:42) combine responses to two questions.

on children in old age. Only 4 percent of the total sample, however, said that they expected to rely "a good deal" on their children in old age, and 37 percent did not expect to rely on their children at all. More than half (57 percent) of the middle class did not expect to rely on their children for old-age support, compared with one-third of the lower-class group and one-fourth of the rural group.

Table 3.2 shows the extent to which respondents expected economic help from their sons and daughters. Only 29 percent expected to receive economic assistance from their sons, and fewer still (10 percent) expected such assistance from daughters. As anticipated, more rural than urban and more female than male respondents had expectations of economic help from children of either sex. That more middle-class than lower-class parents anticipated economic assistance from daughters, however, may be a reflection of increasing employment opportunities among middle-class women.

Although most Korean parents did not expect to receive economic assistance from either sons or daughters, they were aware of the economic aspects of having children, either the costs of raising them or the possibility of relying on them in some circumstances. To obtain opinions about how the economic value of children might have changed over time, respondents were asked whether children nowadays are as willing to help their parents in certain ways as children were when the respondents themselves were growing up. Specifically, they were asked whether children today are more willing, just as willing, or less willing to support their parents in old age, give part of their wages to parents

Table 3.2 Expectations of economic assistance from sons and daughters
(Percentage distribution of respondents, by expectation)

Expectation	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Sons						
Expect	6	37	43	34	24	29
Do not expect	87	56	48	56	70	63
Uncertain	8	7	10	10	6	8
Daughters						
Expect	10	4	16	13	7	10
Do not expect	86	85	80	80	87	84
Uncertain	4	11	4	7	6	6

NOTE: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

when they start working, live with their parents after marrying, and help with chores around the house, on the family farm, or in the family business.

As shown in Table 3.3, only half of the respondents believed that children these days are just as willing to support their parents in old age as were children of their own generation. One-third said that children these days are less willing to support their parents, and only 13 percent said that children nowadays are more willing to help their parents. Among subgroups, more rural and middle-class than lower-class respondents, and nearly twice as many women as men, expressed pessimism about the willingness of today's children to help out their parents. This is in contrast to the finding that more rural and female respondents expected economic assistance from children than did middle-class and male respondents. The higher the expectation of economic assistance, the greater the shift in perceived economic utility of children over time. This finding suggests the possibility that as children nowadays are less likely to satisfy parental expectations of economic assistance, those with high expectations are more disillusioned than those with low expectations. Of those who perceived a change toward "less willing" (32 percent), about half disapproved of the change, while the other half expressed approval.

Table 3.3 Perceived changes over time in the willingness of children to support their parents in old age
(Percentage distribution of respondents, by perception of change)

Willingness	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
More willing	5	16	17	11	14	13
Just as willing	54	53	44	42	59	50
Less willing	37	24	38	41	24	32

NOTE: Percentages do not sum to 100 because other responses ("don't know," "it depends") are not included.

Economic costs of children

As we have already seen in Chapter 2, VOC couples not only anticipated economic and utilitarian benefits from having children, but were also concerned about the economic burdens that raising children entailed. Table 3.4 shows respondents' perceptions of the economic costs

Table 3.4 Perceived economic costs of children
(Percentage of respondents, by selected measures)

Measure	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
General economic costs						
Mentioned general financial costs among disadvantages of children	39	58	44	42	52	46
Agreed strongly with VOC attitude item "Raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people"	29	46	48	45	37	41
Rated financial burden of another child as somewhat or very important	88	97	85	88	92	90
Rated financial burden of another child as very important	41	74	64	59	60	60
Educational costs						
Mentioned educational costs among disadvantages of children	8	25	38	20	28	24
Rated educational costs as somewhat or very heavy burden	68	95	91	89	81	85
Rated educational costs as very heavy burden	11	59	50	43	39	41

of children, as reflected in their responses to various open-ended and structured questions. Forty-six percent of respondents spontaneously mentioned, in reply to the open-ended question about the disadvantages of children, that having children would create a heavy financial burden for the parents, and 41 percent agreed strongly with the attitude item that raising children is a heavy financial burden for most people. Nearly all respondents (90 percent) rated the financial burden of an additional child as at least somewhat important, and 60 percent said that the burden was a very important reason for not wanting another child.

One major component of the financial costs of children is the ex-

pense of education. One-fourth of the sample spontaneously mentioned educational costs as a disadvantage of having children. In response to a structured item, 85 percent rated the cost of children's education as at least a somewhat heavy financial burden. Forty-one percent believed that the expense would be a very heavy burden. On most of these indicators, a greater proportion of the urban lower class than of the other two socioeconomic groups expressed concern over the costs of children, possibly because lower-class couples faced the same high costs of urban living as the middle class while having less income. Differences between men and women on these measures were minor.

To determine how difficult parents felt it would be to support different numbers of children, respondents were also asked whether it would be fairly easy financially, somewhat of a financial burden, or a heavy financial burden to raise one child, two children, three children, and so on, up to six children (Table 3.5). Two-thirds of the sample said that it would be fairly easy to raise one child and a third said that it would be fairly easy to raise two children. But nearly half (48 percent) considered two children to be somewhat of a financial burden, and 60 percent said raising three children would be a heavy burden. The proportion viewing the financial burden of childrearing as heavy increased to 88 percent with four children and to 97 percent with five.

Table 3.6 shows how much of a financial burden respondents were willing to accept in order to have the number of children they wanted.

Table 3.5 Perceived financial burden of raising different numbers of children

(Percentage of respondents who said raising specified numbers of children was fairly easy financially, somewhat of a financial burden, and a heavy financial burden)

Number of children	Fairly easy financially	Somewhat of a financial burden	A heavy financial burden
1	66	24	8
2	32	48	19
3	7	32	60
4	2	10	88
5	1	2	97
6	1	1	98

Table 3.6 Perceived financial burden of desired family size
(Percentage distribution of respondents, by perceived burden)

Financial burden	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
No burden	18	11	2	10	10	10
Somewhat of a burden	29	24	19	26	22	24
A heavy burden	41	56	72	54	59	57
Mean number of children considered financially burdensome	3.1	3.4	3.7	3.4	3.4	3.4

NOTE: Percentages do not sum to 100 because other responses ("don't know," "it depends") are not included.

By far the largest proportion of the sample (57 percent) said that the number of children they desired represented a heavy burden. More respondents among the rural group (72 percent) and the lower class (56 percent) than among the middle class (41 percent) gave this response. On the other hand, the average number of children perceived as burdensome tended to increase slightly across SES groups, from 3.1 for the middle class to 3.7 for the rural group. As shown in Table 3.5, slightly more than three children seems to be the point at which the Korean parents began to feel a financial burden. This finding suggests that respondents in general were well aware of the financial burden they had to accept in order to attain the desired number of children. It is likely that respondents' recent experiences with their children may have been reflected in these estimates of the financial burden of having the desired number of children.

The preceding analysis focused on the economic burden of children as perceived by respondents. Perceptions may deviate from reality; respondents may underestimate or overestimate the actual costs of child-rearing. The VOC survey attempted to measure more concretely the expenses parents in the three SES groups incurred by having children. We asked respondents to estimate the amount of money they had spent on their children during the previous 12 months (Table 3.7). For the total sample the average amount estimated to have been spent on children was 113,000 won (US$283), or about 22 percent of the average annual family income. The average amount estimated by the middle class was about twice that of the lower class and nearly four times that of the rural group. Since the average income of the lower-class

Table 3.7 Estimated economic costs of children

Item	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	All respondents
Estimated amount spent on all children (1,000 won[a] per year)	189	97	53	113
Family income (1,000 won per year)	896	336	343	510
Percentage of income spent on all children	21	29	15	22
Mean number of children	2.5	2.7	3.4	2.8
Percentage of income spent per child	8	11	5	8

NOTE: Excludes four respondents who did not estimate costs of raising children. These figures were based on respondents' estimates; actual amounts may differ substantially.

a 1,000 won = US$2.50.

group was lower than that of the middle class, however, the percentage of family income spent on children was higher among the lower class. Moreover, the lower-class group estimated that it spent a greater percentage of family income per child, on the average, than the middle-class and rural groups, even though lower-class parents had more children than the middle class. This may be due to the generally high cost of living in an urban area.

Summary

Respondents in the present study were willing to consider economic costs before having children. Some of them also expected economic assistance from children, particularly from sons, in old age. This was the case with lower-class and rural respondents and with wives. But they perceived children's economic utility as diminishing in comparison to the past.

A majority of respondents reported that they were concerned about the financial burden of rearing children. This concern was noteworthy among the lower class. Raising slightly more than three children was perceived as burdensome by most respondents. Most were also aware that the number of children they desired was burdensome. Estimates of the amount of money spent on children revealed that lower-class respondents believed they spent a large portion of their income on raising their children.

These results can be interpreted as indicating that respondents were quite conscious of the economic costs of having children, but some of them expected to acquire financial security through having boys. Thus, the financial uncertainty of the future may lead some parents to seek

security in old age by having children in the hope of having sons. Unless there are some alternative forms of insurance against hardship in old age (e.g., social security), it is unlikely that an accurate perception of the financial costs of children will outweigh expectations of economic assistance from them in the critical decision-making on childbearing.

4

family size and family planning

Thus far we have focused on parents' perceptions of the satisfactions and costs of children. It is assumed that these values and disvalues have differential effects on couples' fertility behavior. Past studies in Korea (e.g., Chung, Palmore, et al., 1972) have shown that fertility behavior is substantially influenced by differences between living and ideal numbers of children and that, when couples want more children to achieve the number they deem ideal, they do not adopt family planning. In this chapter, we will describe respondents' family-size preferences, then in Chapter 5 consider relationships between these variables and values associated with children.

Family-size preferences and childspacing

Several questions were used to measure family-size preferences of respondents. Indicators of preference included ideal number of children, number of living children, and number of additional children wanted. These were compared with other measures of family-size orientation (Table 4.1).

Average family size for the sample as a whole was 2.8 children, and average number of additional children wanted was 0.5. By adding the number of additional children wanted to parity (number of living children), we obtained an indicator of desired family size. As expected and as has been repeatedly shown in previous Korean studies, rural respondents wanted on the average the largest number of children (4.1), urban middle-class respondents the smallest (2.8). The difference between men and women on this measure was meager.

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Table 4.1 Selected measures of family size and family-size preference

Measure	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Number of living children	2.5	2.6	3.4	2.8	2.8	2.8
Number of children wanted[a]	2.8	3.0	4.1	3.3	3.4	3.3
Ideal number of children	2.8	2.9	3.4	3.0	3.1	3.0
Number of living sons	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4
Number of sons ideal	1.5	2.0	2.2	1.4	2.1	1.8
Number of living daughters	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.5
Number of daughters ideal	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.2
Number of children in respondent's family of orientation	4.5	4.0	4.4	4.4	4.2	4.3
Estimated number of children in typical family in community	2.9	3.5	4.2	3.4	3.4	3.4
Number of children in "large" family	4.4	4.6	5.6	4.7	5.0	4.8
Percentage wanting "large" family	12	17	27	21	17	19
Number of children in "small" family	2.4	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.7
Percentage wanting "small" family	50	50	25	43	41	42

a This measure was obtained indirectly by combining number of living children with the number of additional children desired by respondent.

The average ideal number of children was 3.0. Rural respondents wanted 0.7 more children, on the average, than the number of children they deemed ideal; urban respondents gave about the same number for wanted and ideal. It is also noteworthy that rural respondents wanted more children despite the fact that they already had the number of children given as ideal.

Rural respondents both had and idealized a larger number of sons than the two urban groups. All three groups had more daughters than they considered to be ideal. The discrepancy between the living and ideal numbers of daughters was greatest for the rural group, however. The contrast between actual and ideal number of sons and daughters

may explain why rural respondents wanted more children even though they had achieved their ideal family size. That is, the underlying cause may be a stronger preference for sons in this subgroup.

Respondents came from families of 4.3 children on the average but wanted an average of 3.3 children for themselves. This finding may indicate a fertility decline between the two generations, provided that respondents do not exceed their wanted family size. The intergenerational difference was greatest among the urban middle-class and least among the rural group, who still wanted more than four children on the average.

To explore respondents' perceptions of community norms about family size, we asked them to estimate the number of children the typical couple in their community had by the time they stopped having children. The average estimate was 3.4 children. This figure was very close to the average number wanted by the respondents, except for the lower-class group, who wanted 0.5 children fewer than the estimated "typical" number. Thus middle-class and rural respondents seemed to have fairly realistic perceptions of community family-size intentions, whereas the lower-class group tended to overestimate those intentions. Another possible interpretation is that middle-class and rural respondents projected their desires onto the community at large.

To compare respondents' desired family size with their perceptions of "large" and "small" families, we asked them to state how many children they thought constituted a large family and a small family. For the total sample, 4.8 children comprised a "large" family and 2.7 children a "small" one. Forty-two percent of the respondents wanted what they considered to be a small family, compared with 19 percent who wanted a large family; the rest lay somewhere between. Among the rural sample, slightly more respondents (27 percent) wanted a large family than wanted a small one (25 percent), whereas among both urban groups half wanted a small family and less than a fifth wanted a large one. Differences between female and male respondents were minor.

Family-size preferences may be formed by the parents' perceptions of the characteristics of children reared in a small or a large family. The parents may prefer a large or small family if they think children reared in such a family have desirable qualities. According to Bossard and Boll (1956), large and small families have been found to influence differentially the personality and behavioral development of children. Therefore, we asked a series of questions to assess parents' perceptions on this topic. First we will discuss those characteristics of children that

respondents associated with large and small families; then we will relate perceptions of the benefits of large and small families to other factors such as the family size and family planning behavior of respondents.

Characteristics attributed to children from large families were an open and loving manner toward other people, self-confidence, and popularity with other children (Table 4.2). Characteristics ascribed to

Table 4.2 Perceived qualities of children from small and large families (Percentage of respondents who indicated which type of family is more likely to produce specified qualities)

Characteristic and family size	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Open and loving toward others						
Small family	7	6	17	9	11	10
Large family	89	86	79	86	83	85
Either, don't know	4	7	4	5	6	5
Highly intelligent						
Small family	38	56	52	47	50	48
Large family	9	17	21	15	16	16
Either, don't know	53	27	27	37	34	36
Popular with other children						
Small family	12	16	29	17	22	19
Large family	66	59	54	62	58	60
Either, don't know	22	24	17	22	20	21
Close to parents						
Small family	83	83	82	79	85	82
Large family	8	11	10	13	7	10
Either, don't know	9	6	7	8	7	8
Headstrong						
Small family	79	75	56	71	69	70
Large family	7	11	27	13	16	15
Either, don't know	14	14	17	15	15	15
Self-confident						
Small family	28	37	44	33	40	36
Large family	53	38	38	45	41	43
Either, don't know	19	25	18	22	19	21
Very happy						
Small family	59	71	71	68	67	67
Large family	14	11	23	17	15	16
Either, don't know	26	17	6	16	18	17

children from small families were high intellectual ability, close relationship to parents, always wanting their own way, and being very happy. Thus Korean parents perceived small families to foster the desirable qualities in children of intelligence and large families to foster the ability to get along with their peers and a wholesome personality. On the other hand, respondents viewed small families as more likely to promote the undesirable characteristic of willfulness. The three socioeconomic subgroups were similar in these perceptions. But relatively more middle-class respondents than others thought that children from small families always wanted their own way and that children from large families had greater confidence in themselves. The two sex groups were also similar in their perceptions. But more male than female respondents considered children from a small family to be popular, close to parents, and self-confident.

Family-size preferences should have some bearing on the timing of births. This is of interest because the rate of population growth is affected not only by the number of children each woman has, but also by the length of intervals between births.

For the entire Korean sample, the average interval between marriage and the first birth was 14.6 months (Table 4.3); between the first and second births, 27.5 months; and for those couples who had three or more children, 30.4 months between the second and third births. Variation in the average interval between marriage and the first birth was fairly large: for the middle class, the interval was about 13 months; for the lower class, 10.8 months; and for the rural group, 19.8 months, the longest. A similar pattern of results was observed in a 1970 survey conducted by the Korean Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences (Chung, Palmore, et al., 1972). The first- and second-birth intervals were almost twice as long, 27.5 months on the average. Lower-class and rural women had longer intervals between the second and third births than middle-class women. For all women the second- and third-birth interval was even longer (30.4 months).

Table 4.3 Birth intervals

Mean number of months	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	All respondents
Between marriage and first birth	13.3	10.8	19.8	14.6
Between first and second births	24.1	28.5	30.0	27.5
Between second and third births	30.9	28.1	32.1	30.4

Attitudes toward contraception and abortion

Korean people are generally favorable toward contraception, but less so toward abortion. We asked VOC respondents whether they approved or disapproved in general of married couples' using contraception and having abortion, and whether they would approve under certain circumstances.

General approval of contraception was quite high for the whole sample (91 percent) and among all subgroups (Table 4.4). Less than 5 percent disapproved; the rest expressed conditional approval or disapproval, or were unsure of their opinions.

Attitudes toward contraception may depend on the specific circumstances surrounding its use. We therefore asked respondents for their opinions of it in three circumstances: to delay the birth of the first child, to control the spacing or timing of births after the first child, and to prevent further pregnancies after a couple has all the children they want. Only 14 percent of respondents approved of contraception to delay the birth of the first child. This probably indicates a prevalent view that a newly wed couple may be psychologically ready to have

Table 4.4 Attitudes toward contraception
(Percentage of respondents who expressed specified attitudes)

Attitude	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Generally approved of married couples' using birth control	91	92	90	90	92	91
Generally disapproved of married couples' using birth control	3	6	4	4	5	5
Approved of birth control						
to delay birth of first child	25	8	10	11	17	14
to control spacing or timing of births after first child	97	73	75	75	74	75
to prevent further pregnancies after desired parity is attained	98	95	91	94	95	94

NOTE: Percentages in the first two rows do not sum to 100 because of missing cases.

their first child, partly as a result of family pressures and cultural expectations. Or it may reflect the view that having the first child as soon as possible may prove them physically adequate in married life. An overwhelming majority of respondents (94 percent), however, approved of contraception for limiting family size. Among subgroups, the middle class expressed the greatest approval for all three purposes. Differences between husbands and wives in attitudes toward contraception were minor, but the wives were less favorable toward its use to delay the birth of the first child.

As expected, opinions toward abortion were somewhat less favorable (Table 4.5). As against 91 percent of respondents who generally

Table 4.5 Attitudes toward abortion
(Percentage of respondents who expressed specified attitudes)

Attitude	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
Generally approved of a married woman's having an abortion to prevent unwanted birth	73	76	45	56	74	65
Generally disapproved of a married woman's having an abortion to prevent unwanted birth	19	13	18	19	14	17
Other responses (e.g., had not heard of abortion)	8	11	37	25	12	18
Approved of abortion						
if doctor said it would be dangerous for woman to give birth again	88	70	44	64	70	67
if couple could not afford to have another child	73	62	52	57	67	62
if pregnancy would interfere with woman's work or career	26	30	35	32	29	30
if pregnancy resulted from rape	81	79	52	66	75	70

approved of contraceptive use, only 65 percent expressed general approval of a married woman's having an abortion to prevent an unwanted birth—a clear majority, nevertheless. Although induced abortion was legalized in the Republic of Korea in 1973, our findings indicate that anti-abortion sentiment still exists among Koreans. About 17 percent of all respondents expressed outright disapproval. The rest, about a fifth, were ambivalent about abortion, possibly because they were unaware of its legality. Responses varied across subgroups. Fewer than half of the rural group (45 percent) generally approved of abortion, compared with 73 percent of the middle class and 76 percent of the lower class. More husbands (74 percent) than wives (56 percent) approved.

It was expected that a large majority of respondents would express approval of abortion under mitigating circumstances, but the data generally betrayed this expectation. Only slightly more respondents (67 percent) than had generally approved said they would approve if a doctor said it would be dangerous for a woman to give birth again. Here again differences were quite pronounced between the two urban groups, the great majority of whom expressed approval, and the rural group, with fewer than half approving. We had hypothesized that economic hardship might be considered justification for abortion. Indeed, 62 percent of all respondents approved of abortion if a couple could not afford to have another child, and differences between subgroups on this item were less extreme. On the other hand, a surprisingly low proportion of respondents (30 percent) said they would approve of abortion if pregnancy would interfere with a woman's work or career. In this instance rural respondents were more favorable (35 percent) than the urban groups, perhaps because of the need for women's farm labor in rural areas. Approval if the pregnancy resulted from rape was generally high.

Family planning knowledge and practices

Since the inception of the nationwide family planning program in 1961, many adult Koreans have been exposed to a variety of contraceptive methods, the most popular being the intrauterine device (IUD) and the oral contraceptive (pill). Therefore, it was not surprising that a great majority of respondents in our survey said they had heard about the specific contraceptive methods mentioned by the interviewers (Table 4.6). The three most widely recognized methods were the IUD, popularly known as the loop (88 percent), the pill (87 percent), and vasectomy (80 percent). The least known method was the dia-

Table 4.6 Knowledge and use of contraceptive methods
(Percentage of respondents, by knowledge and use of specified methods)

Method and knowledge	Urban middle	Urban lower	Rural	Female	Male	All respondents
IUD						
Had heard of method	93	85	89	89	88	88
Knew how it is used	45	48	47	46	48	47
Had used method	10	21	20	16	18	17
Pill						
Had heard of method	94	95	91	84	89	87
Knew how it is used	72	68	50	61	65	63
Had used method	30	30	25	28	28	28
Vasectomy						
Had heard of method	96	78	68	70	91	80
Knew how it is used	56	36	41	34	53	44
Had used method	0	0	2	0	1	1
Condom						
Had heard of method	97	70	60	61	88	75
Knew how it is used	83	52	49	44	77	61
Had used method	48	14	18	25	27	26
Tubal ligation						
Had heard of method	92	64	44	62	70	66
Knew how it is used	58	34	21	34	40	37
Had used method	13	3	2	6	5	6
Rhythm						
Had heard of method	93	57	48	56	75	66
Knew how it is used	73	32	39	42	52	47
Had used method	53	12	14	23	28	25
Withdrawal						
Had heard of method	83	45	31	43	61	52
Knew how it is used	57	27	25	27	45	36
Had used method	15	5	5	8	8	8
Diaphragm						
Had heard of method	55	15	16	26	30	28
Knew how it is used	15	4	9	8	10	9
Had used method	3	0	1	1	1	1

phragm (28 percent), which had once been available through the national program.

A person may have heard about a contraceptive method without knowing how it is used. We therefore asked respondents whether they

knew how to use each method. As expected, a much lower percentage of the sample replied in the affirmative. Sixty-three percent claimed to know how to use the pill; 61 percent, the condom; 47 percent, rhythm and the IUD; and 44 percent, vasectomy. Only 9 percent know how to use the diaphragm. As expected also, knowledge about most methods was greatest among the middle-class group, but as far as the IUD was concerned, both rural and lower-class respondents were slightly more knowledgeable. Urban respondents were better informed about the pill than the rural group. Knowledge of how to practice withdrawal was found to be fairly widespread among middle-class respondents but less so among the lower-class and rural groups.

Actual use of the contraceptive methods was of course much less prevalent than knowledge about them. By far, the most widely used methods were the pill (28 percent), followed by the condom (26 percent), rhythm (25 percent), and the IUD (17 percent). Use of the condom and withdrawal was more common among the middle class than among the other two socioeconomic groups, whereas the IUD was much more popular among the lower-class and rural respondents. Only the rural group had used vasectomy, but tubal ligation (female sterilization) was more prevalent among the middle class than the other two groups.

Family size, background variables, and family planning

It is generally assumed here and elsewhere that knowledge of and attitudes toward contraception are influenced by family size. It was also assumed in this study that the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents would have some bearing on family-size preferences and family planning behavior.

Table 4.7 summarizes the relationships between family-size preferences and family planning behavior of the Korean VOC sample. Many of the correlations were found to be insignificant; and where significant correlations existed, they tended to be low to moderate. Generally the number of additional children wanted and the ideal number of children were negatively correlated with various family planning variables, a finding that is consistent with many previous studies. This means that the more the respondents wanted additional children or the larger their ideal number of children was, the less were they likely to know about or practice family planning. It is possible that most correlations were low because the majority of respondents had achieved their family-size goals.

The correlations between background characteristics of the respond-

Table 4.7 Correlations of family-size variables with family planning variables

Family-size variable	Family planning variable: Number of contraceptive methods known	Number of contraceptive methods known how to use	Number of contraceptive methods used	Situational birth control attitudes	Combined birth control attitudes	Combined abortion attitudes
Number of living sons	−.14†	−.03	.08	−.09	−.05	.06
Number of living daughters	−.08	−.05	.01	.00	.05	−.02
Number of living children	−.20*	−.07	.08	−.09	.00	.03
Number of additional children wanted	−.12	−.11	−.21*	.03	−.06	−.02
Total number of children wanted	−.25*	−.14	−.07	−.06	−.03	.00
Ideal number of children	−.27*	−.17*	−.10	−.13	−.14†	−.13

† Significant at .05 level.

* Significant at .01 level.

Table 4.8 Correlations of background variables with family planning and family-size variables

Background variables	Family planning variable					Family-size variable	
	Combined contra-ceptive attitudes	Combined abortion attitudes	Birth control methods known about	Birth control methods known how to use	Birth control methods ever used	Desired number of children	Ideal number of children
Socio-demographic							
Education	.201*	−.066	.620*	.455*	.347*	−.128	−.143*
Wife's employment experience	−.007	−.015	−.037	−.024	−.002	−.015	.052
Age at marriage	.051	.010	.444*	.317*	.204*	−.014	−.059
Income	.168*	−.064	.516*	.386*	.351*	−.207*	−.090†
Modern durables owned	.169*	−.022	.478*	.407*	.252*	−.229*	−.070
Urban experience	.102†	.013	.450*	.276*	.256*	−.273	−.071
Socio-psychological[a]							
Overall modernity	.036	.083	.168*	.172*	.103†	−.163*	.028
Decision-mindedness	.154*	.135*	.067	.135*	.065	−.043	−.052
Fatalism	−.061	−.186*	.028	−.032	−.045	−.030	.010
Small-family press	.144*	.041	.314*	.223*	.186*	−.067	−.120*
Mass media exposure	.125*	.092†	.562*	.428*	.313*	−.093†	−.139*
Educational aspiration for son(s)	.066	.016	.286*	.234*	.196*	−.050	.070
Educational aspiration for daughter(s)	.138*	.039	.434*	.342*	.220*	−.034	−.152*

† Significant at .05 level.

* Significant at .01 level.

a Components of the socio-psychological indices are described in Appendix B of Arnold et al. (1975).

ents and family planning and family-size variables were generally found to be significant (Table 4.8). Socio-demographic variables that had high positive correlations with family planning variables were education, age at marriage, income, number of modern durables owned, and urban experience. The last three variables were also found to be associated with a smaller desired number of children. Socio-psychological variables that were positively correlated with family planning indices were decision-mindedness, small-family press, mass media exposure, and educational aspiration for children. Socio-psychological variables were in most cases less strongly related to family-size variables than were socio-demographic variables. Education had the highest correlations with birth control knowledge and use, followed by mass-media exposure. Wife's employment experience had the lowest correlation. Urban experience was the variable most strongly associated with number of children wanted, followed by ownership of consumer durables.

Summary

To sum up, rural respondents wanted the largest number of children, middle-class respondents the smallest. More sons were desired by rural and lower-class respondents than by the middle class. Son preference was quite noteworthy. Respondents perceived slightly more than two children to be a small family. Children from such a family were considered to have some desirable qualities (e.g., intelligence), but to lack some interpersonal skills.

Respondents in all subgroups revealed favorable attitudes toward contraception but less favorable attitudes toward abortion. They were quite knowledgeable about some contraceptive methods, although the prevalence of use fell behind that of knowledge. Correlations among variables showed that education, income, and urban experience were among the variables related to a smaller desired number of children. Persons high in these categories and those with high educational aspirations for their children not only were more knowledgeable than others about family planning but also showed high rates of practice.

One thing notable in the above results is the discrepancy between attitude and practice. To reduce this discrepancy, the advantages of a small family and the importance of raising children of "high quality" (e.g., intelligent and sociable) should be emphasized in the mass media.

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the social context, the value of children, and fertility

In the preceding chapters we examined the major value-of-children dimensions for the Korean sample, noting similarities and differences in the response frequencies of the various subgroups. We also examined patterns of responses related to family planning and family size. In this chapter we will explore how the respondents formed their attitudes toward children and to what extent these attitudes influenced the number of children they wanted to have. In doing so, we assume that the respondents' attitudes toward children were formed in a broad social context as well as by narrow situational circumstances. Attention will therefore focus on how the VOC dimensions are related to specific background characteristics of respondents and the relationship of both sets of measures to fertility indices. For these analyses, correlational analyses are used to show the extent of relationships among selected variables, and multiple regression analyses are used to examine the predictive power of the selected variables on fertility and family planning measures. The analyses reported here are based on the total sample.

Correlates of the value of children

Three VOC dimensions were correlated with various background characteristics. The VOC dimensions were the nine general scales of the value of children (obtained from a factor analysis of attitude scores

for all six countries), an index of son preference, measures of the importance respondents attached to reasons for wanting and not wanting another child, and economic indices of the value of children.

Table 5.1 presents correlations between four background factors (age, income, education, and urban experience) and nine VOC attitude scales, combined indices of reasons for wanting and not wanting another child, and intensity of son preference (derived from a hypothetical question asking how long the respondent would continue childbearing if each successive child were a daughter). Educational attainment and urban experience emerged as strongly correlated with scores on the value-of-children scales. More educated respondents and those who had lived in cities longer generally tended to deemphasize the importance of continuity, tradition, and security, social status, external controls on childbearing, and role motivations as values derived from children. They seemed to be less concerned with many of the traditional reasons for wanting children. Those with higher incomes also tended to deemphasize continuity, tradition, and security, social status, and external controls on childbearing, probably because they

Table 5.1 Correlations of socio-psychological measures of the value of children with selected socio-demographic variables

VOC variables	Age	Income	Education	Urban experience
VOC attitude scales				
Continuity, tradition, security	−.06	−.50*	−.58*	−.52*
Parenthood satisfactions	.04	.07	.01	.06
Role motivations	.01	−.06	−.21*	−.16*
Happiness, affection	.05	−.11	−.21*	−.12
Goals, incentives from children	−.04	.12	.12*	.09
Social status from children	−.04	−.32*	−.41*	−.36*
External control on childbearing	−.17†	−.27*	−.30*	−.31*
Costs of children	−.11	−.13	−.15*	−.08
Decision-mindedness in childbearing	−.12	−.07	−.08	−.11†
Reasons for wanting another child	−.16†	−.24*	−.32*	−.27*
Reasons for not wanting another child	−.05	−.04	−.09†	−.04
Intensity of son preference	.02	−.36*	−.46*	−.45*

NOTE: For a discussion of the VOC attitude scales, see Arnold et al. (1975:49–64).

† Significant at .05 level.

* Significant at .01 level.

felt more self-sufficient than other respondents. Moreover, income, education, and urban experience had significant negative correlations with reasons for wanting another child and intensity of son preference. That is, more educated, affluent, and urbanized respondents had weaker son preference and attached less importance to reasons for wanting another child than other respondents.

For correlations between specific reasons for wanting or not wanting another child and family-size variables, we selected number of living sons and children, ideal number of children, and number of additional children wanted as family-size indices. We assumed that reasons for wanting or not wanting another child, being specific rather than general values of children, would depend on respondents' experiences with existing children and in particular on the size and sex composition of their families at the time of the survey. Results of the correlations (Table 5.2) show that number of sons was positively and significantly related to the desire for a girl, indicating perhaps that respondents with sons wished a greater balance of sexes. Number of sons was also negatively correlated with such reasons for wanting another child as wanting a boy, pressure from relatives, religious duty, desiring a stronger marriage, enjoyment of childrearing, and spouse's desire for more children. In other words, the more sons respondents had, the less likely were these reasons to be given for wanting another child.

Respondents with more children tended to emphasize, as reasons for wanting another child, carrying on the family name and traditions, expected help in old age, expected economic assistance for the family, and the desire to share with their children. They were less concerned about pressures from relatives to have more children, companionship, learning from children, and special feelings in the parent-child relationship. I.e., these respondents appeared to be more traditional and their reasons more utilitarian than respondents with few children.

The more children respondents idealized, the more they tended to emphasize, as the reasons for wanting another child, carrying on the family name and traditions, the desire for economic help in old age, religious duty, expected economic assistance to the family, and fear of infant mortality. Respondents who idealized a large family thus appeared to hold traditional and utilitarian values embodying son preference.

The number of additional children wanted received considerable attention in this study because it is one of the most important variables measuring family-size desire. As Table 5.2 shows, respondents who wanted a larger number of additional children tended to emphasize, as

Table 5.2 Correlations of socio-psychological measures of the value of children with selected family-size variables

Reasons for wanting and not wanting another child	Number of living sons	Number of living children	Ideal number of children	Number of additional children wanted		
				Zero order	Number of living sons controlled	Parity controlled
WANTING						
Enjoy having a small baby	.03	−.07	−.10	−.05	−.04	−.08
To carry on family name, traditions	−.06	.17*	.17*	.12†	.11†	.19*
Want a boy/another boy	−.35*	.05	.13†	.20*	.08	.23*
Want a girl/another girl	.26*	−.04	.06	.04	.15*	.02
Relatives feel I should have more children	−.20*	−.12†	−.06	.13†	.06	.08
To have child to help me in my old age	.06	.21*	.21*	.06	.09	.14*
My religious duty to have children	−.17*	−.14	.14*	.20*	.15*	.19*
One more person to help family economically	.10	.22*	.21*	.02	.06	.11†
To make my marriage stronger	−.10†	−.20	.01	.03	−.01	−.01
Want companion for my children	−.09	−.18*	−.06	.08	.05	.01
Enjoy caring for, raising children	−.13†	−.03	.03	−.04	−.09	−.05
Spouse wants more children	−.17*	−.10	.03	.09	.03	.05
Fun to have children around house	−.07	−.05	−.00	−.05	.03	−.08
To help me learn about life and myself	.00	−.14*	−.07	−.00	.00	−.07
For special feeling between parent and child	.00	−.13†	−.07	−.03	−.03	−.08
To share what I have and know with children	.05	.11†	.15*	.01	.03	.05
To have enough children survive to adulthood	−.05	.08	.14*	.13†	.12†	.17*

Table 5.2 *(continued)*

Reasons for wanting and not wanting another child	Number of living sons	Number of living children	Ideal number of children	Number of additional children wanted		
				Zero order	Number of living sons controlled	Parity controlled
NOT WANTING						
Financial burden to family	.11†	.19*	.02	−.19*	−.16*	−.14†
Spouse does not want more	.07	.03	−.04	−.17*	−.16*	−.17*
Would restrict my freedom to do other things I enjoy	.01	.02	−.06	−.12†	−.12†	−.11†
Would be a lot of work, bother for me	.08	.25*	−.12†	−.06	−.03	.04
Could not spend as much time with spouse	−.03	−.04	−.11†	−.12†	−.12†	.15*
Disadvantages to society; concern about overpopulation	−.05	.00	−.01	.06	.05	.06
Would be emotional strain for me	.01	.12†	.03	−.03	−.03	−.01
Would not be able to give enough care, attention to other children	.11†	.22*	.05	−.16*	−.13†	−.09
Would cause problems, strains between me and spouse	.00	.11†	−.01	−.03	−.03	.08

† Significant at .05 level.

* Significant at .01 level.

their reasons, the desire to carry on the family name and traditions, to have a boy or boys, a religious duty to have additional children, pressure from relatives, and fear of infant mortality. These reasons suggest that a strong motivation for wanting more children was to have sons.

Since son preference is strong in Korea, we hypothesized that the number of additional children wanted would be contingent on the number of sons respondents already had. We therefore controlled for this variable, as well as for parity. Substantial change in the correlation coefficients was observed for three reasons: desire for a boy or boys, pressure from relatives to have more children, and desire for a girl or girls. But when the number of living sons was held constant, the scores

for wanting boys and pressure from relatives lost their weight completely and the score for wanting girls gained in significance. In other words, as respondents had more sons, the value of boys and social pressure to have sons tended to diminish while the value of girls increased.

We saw in Chapter 3 that, in addition to the continuity of family name and traditions, VOC respondents attached economic value to children and that economic factors influenced their fertility preferences. To explore how economic values of children are formed, we selected four indices of economic costs and benefits of children and correlated them with a set of selected background and fertility-related variables. Arnold and Fawcett (1975:116) have described the four economic indices as follows:

Economic costs of children: This index is composed of four components dealing with the perceived economic burden of the number of children wanted, the financial burden of having another child, the financial burden of educating one's children, and the financial burden of raising children in general.

Number of children that would be a heavy economic burden: The index refers to the total number of children that respondents believed would be a heavy burden for them to raise.

Expected economic help from children: This consists of six components related to expected economic help from sons and daughters, economic support in old age, and economic help from having another child.

Decreased utility of children: The index is a linear combination of responses to questions about the changing economic usefulness of children over time. High scores on this index imply that children had become much less useful economically since the time when the respondents were growing up.

Table 5.3 shows that most of the economic indices were negatively related to background characteristics and birth control variables, and positively related to the fertility variables. Respondents who had more education, higher incomes, longer urban experience, and more years of marriage felt the costs of children significantly less than others. They were also less likely to expect economic help from their children.

Number of living children, number of children wanted, and ideal number of children were all positively related to the economic costs of children, number of children that would be a heavy financial burden, and expected economic help from children. Evidently, couples who already had a large number of children and who wanted more felt most burdened by the costs of raising them, but they also tended to expect economic assistance from their children.

Respondents who had more knowledge about contraceptive meth-

Table 5.3 Correlations of background, fertility, and birth control variables with economic indices of the value of children

Background, fertility, and birth control variables	Economic costs of children	Number of children that would be heavy economic burden	Expected economic help from children	Decreased utility of children
Background characteristics				
Education	−.37*	−.29*	−.65*	−.01
Income	−.31*	−.23*	−.52*	.04
Urban experience	−.30*	−.28*	−.51*	−.07
Age at marriage	−.20*	−.11	−.35*	−.15*
Fertility and family planning				
Number of living children	.34*	.28*	.29*	−.10
Total number of children wanted	.35*	.42*	.40*	−.08
Ideal number of children	.16*	.14	.30*	−.10
Number of additional children wanted	.02	.21*	.14	.11
Number of contraceptive methods known about	−.25*	−.20*	−.49*	.05
Current contraceptive use	−.05	−.09	−.26*	.00

* Significant at .01 level.

ods and practiced contraception tended to deemphasize the economic benefits of children. This last index, expected economic help from children, showed a strong relationship to most of the background characteristics, fertility-related variables, and birth control measures. Respondents who expected economic help from their children tended to have larger families, wanted to have more children, had less contraceptive knowledge, and were less likely to be using contraception than those who did not have such expectations.

Determinants of family size and family planning

We have described major dimensions of the costs and satisfactions that respondents attached to children and how these economic, social, and psychological attitudes were formed in social contexts. It would be particularly useful if it could be shown that people's feelings about children actually influence their family-size goals and lead them to adopt family planning. Many past studies have shown definite influ-

ences of socio-demographic background factors on fertility and family planning attitudes and practices, and a few (e.g., Chung et al., 1972; Chung, Cha, and Lee, 1974) have attempted to assess the impact of psychological factors on fertility. It is hoped that the present study will shed a stronger light on the relationships between psychological factors and fertility and family planning.

In this section we turn to a multivariate analysis technique in an effort to understand the relationships between socio-demographic background characteristics, economic values associated with children, and socio-psychological values related to children on the one hand and family-size preferences and family planning attitudes and behavior on the other. Seven dependent variables selected for this purpose were number of additional children wanted, total number of children wanted, parity, general and situational attitudes toward family planning, knowledge about contraceptives, and current use of contraception.

For each dependent variable, stage-wise regression analyses were run successively, the first with a set of socio-demographic variables as predictors, the second adding a set of economic value-of-children variables, and the third adding a set of socio-psychological values of children. See Arnold et al. (1975:100–2) for a detailed description of the measures.

The proportion of variance (R^2) for selected dependent variables is presented in Table 5.4 to show the predictive power of the independent variables. It reveals that the socio-demographic variables were the strongest predictors of most of the dependent variables, with the percentage of variance explained ranging between 4 and 63 percent. R^2 was highest for parity (63 percent) and contraceptive knowledge (47 percent). It was also fairly high for total number of children wanted (38 percent), number of additional children wanted (32 percent), and current use of contraception (29 percent). The dependent variable on which this cluster of variables had little influence was situational attitudes toward birth control. When the economic value-of-children variables were added to the stage-wise regression, the percentage of variance explained increased slightly across the dependent variables. Further addition of the socio-psychological value-of-children variables somewhat improved the predictive power, with increments in the percentage of variance explained ranging from 4 percent to 8 percent (for situational attitudes toward birth control).

In summary, the socio-demographic variables demonstrated strong predictive power on most of the dependent variables, exerting the

Table 5.4 Prediction of selected family-size and family planning variables, as shown by proportion of variance explained (R^2)

Predictor variables	Number of living children	Number of additional children wanted	Total number of children wanted	Situational attitudes toward birth control	Number of contraceptive methods known about	Current use of contraception
Socio-demographic	.63	.32	.38	.04	.47	.29
Socio-demographic + economic value of children	.64	.34	.42	.06	.48	.31
Socio-demographic + economic + socio-psychological value of children	.66[a]	.38	.48[a]	.14	.52	.35
Economic value of children	u	.04	u	u	.28	u
Socio-psychological value of children	u	.13	u	u	.29	u

u—unavailable. Variable not included or analysis not performed.

a Ten VOC socio-psychological dimensions (not including reasons for wanting and not wanting another child).

greatest influence on parity, contraceptive knowledge, total number of children wanted, and number of additional children wanted. The addition of economic values of children only slightly improved the predictive effects, and the addition of socio-psychological value-of-children variables further improved the power of the predictor set, particularly for attitudes toward birth control and the total number of children wanted.

Having thus established the predictive power of each cluster of the variables in a multivariate framework, we look at the relative effects of specific socio-demographic and value-of-children variables on family size and family planning. Table 5.5 shows the standardized regression coefficients (betas) for five regressions in which all three clusters of predictor variables are included.

Among the socio-demographic factors, duration of marriage was by far the most important determinant of family size. The longer respondents had been married, the more children they had but the fewer additional children they wanted to have. Education and urban experience bore significant negative relationships with number of living children and the number of additional children wanted. On the other hand, media exposure had little to do with either of these dependent variables. As has been shown repeatedly elsewhere, more "modern" people (i.e., those with more education and urban experience) tended to have fewer children than other respondents. Also shown in Table 5.5 is the expected negative relationship between current family size (parity plus pregnancy) and the number of additional children wanted.

Most of the socio-demographic background factors had strong predictive power on the family planning measures. Again, education was positively related to contraceptive knowledge, current birth control practice, and general birth control attitude. Not surprisingly, at least in Korea, respondents who had been frequently exposed to mass media were more knowledgeable about contraception and more likely to be practicing birth control than respondents who had had little media exposure. Media exposure had little to do with general birth control attitude, however. In addition to education and media exposure, age was positively related to contraceptive knowledge but negatively related to general birth control attitude. Age did not bear any relation to current contraceptive use. Urban experience had a strong positive association with current contraceptive use but was not related to contraceptive knowledge, perhaps because knowledge about contraceptive methods is widespread among Koreans, urban and rural alike. Marriage duration was negatively related to contraceptive knowledge

Table 5.5 Prediction of selected family-size and family planning variables, as shown by standardized regression coefficients (betas)

	Dependent variable				
Predictor variables	Number of living children	Number of additional children wanted	Number of contraceptive methods known about	General birth control attitude	Current contraceptive use
Socio-demographic characteristics					
Parity and pregnancy[a]	na	−.36*	[b]	[b]	[b]
Age	.12*	.07*	.20*	−.12*	.03
Income	.15*	.07	.16*	.00	.11*
Education	−.17*	−.12*	.17*	.20*	.23*
Urban experience	−.11*	−.32*	.01	−.09*	.21*
Media exposure	.02	.01	.26*	−.01	.15*
Marriage duration	.63*	−.26*	−.17*	.14*	.22*
R^2 (socio-demographic)	.63	.32	.47	.03	.29
Economic values of children					
Economic burden of children's education	.02	.08*	.10*	.10*	.11*
Smallest number of children that would be heavy burden	.09*	.09*	.07*	.08*	.00
Expected economic help from children	−.04†	.12*	−.05†	−.01	.04
Decreased utility of children	−.01	.04†	−.00	−.10*	−.02
Utility of large family	−.01	.02	−.05*	−.12*	−.02
R^2 (socio-demographic + economic VOC)	.64	.34	.48	.07	.31
Socio-psychological values of children					
Continuity, tradition, security	.05†	.04	−.13*	.01	.03
Parenthood satisfactions	−.00	.02	.02	−.00	.08*
Role motivations	−.03	−.17*	−.06*	.04	.08*
Happiness, affection	−.03	−.07*	−.12*	.10*	−.04†

Table 5.5 *(continued)*

Predictor variables	Dependent variable: Number of living children	Number of additional children wanted	Number of contraceptive methods known about	General birth control attitude	Current contraceptive use
Socio-psychological values of children *(continued)*					
Goals, incentives from children	.02	.10*	.04*	−.08*	.03
Social status from children	.01	.01	.08*	−.10*	−.09*
External controls on childbearing	.06*	.05*	−.11*	−.15*	−.02
Costs of children	.12*	.09*	−.02	−.02	−.03†
Decision-mindedness in childbearing	−.07*	−.05*	.01	.02	.04†
Reasons for wanting another child	b	.00	.12*	−.06*	−.05*
Reasons for not want wanting another child	b	−.10*	.00	.21*	.14*
Benefits for children in large family	.04*	.00	−.03*	.07*	.02†
R^2 (socio-demographic + economic VOC + socio-psychological VOC)	.66	.38	.52	.14	.35

na—not applicable.

* Significant at .01 level.

† Significant at .05 level.

a The term "parity" is used here interchangeably with number of living children. If the wife was pregnant at the time of interview, 1 was added to the number of living children.

b Not included in the regression analysis.

but positively related to general birth control attitude and practice. The longer respondents had been married, the more likely they were to be favorable toward family planning and to be practicing birth control, perhaps because they already had as many children as they desired. Income was positively associated with contraceptive knowledge and current contraceptive practice, but it had nothing to do with general birth control attitude.

Although the explanatory power of economic value-of-children variables was not great, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, it was by no means negligible. Respondents who perceived the economic burden of children to be great were more likely to be favorable toward birth control, know more about contraceptive methods, and practice contraception than others for whom the economic burden was not so great. But these same respondents tended to want additional children, a finding that suggests they felt they could afford more children. Respondents who expected economic help from their children wanted to have additional children and were less knowledgeable about contraceptive methods.

The beta coefficients for socio-psychological values of children were about the same as those for economic values of children in their predictive effects. Among the socio-psychological value-of-children variables, continuity, tradition, and security was negatively related to number of contraceptive methods known about, but was not related to current contraceptive use, an expected finding. Role motivations were negatively related to number of additional children wanted and positively related to current contraceptive use, contrary to our expectation. Also contrary to our expectation was that happiness and affection bore a negative relation to number of additional children wanted and contraceptive knowledge. The value of happiness and affection was positively correlated with general birth control attitude, however. The more respondents expected children to confer social status on them, the less they tended to be favorable toward family planning or to be practicing contraception. External pressures felt by respondents to have children, costs of children, and decision-mindedness in childbearing were all significantly related to parity and number of additional children wanted. The more children respondents had or wanted to have, the more these factors influenced their fertility decisions. The more respondents felt external pressures to have children, the less likely they were to know about contraceptive methods or have favorable attitudes toward contraception.

Reasons for wanting another child turned out to be an important variable affecting family planning knowledge, attitude, and practice. Reasons for not wanting another child, on the other hand, influenced the number of additional children respondents wanted, their attitudes toward contraception, and their current use of contraceptives. Although perception of the benefits to children of being raised in a large family affected the major family planning variables, its impact did not seem to be greater than that of the other predictor variables.

The findings from the regression analysis are not conclusive. Some relationships were not in the direction anticipated, others were weaker than expected, and still others were difficult to interpret. It is possible that the measures used were not reliable indicators of the variables, particularly the value-of-children variables, they represented, or that intervening variables not entered into the regression analysis should have been taken into account. Nevertheless, it has been possible to show, albeit tentatively, that reproductive attitudes and behavior of the VOC sample were influenced not only by socio-demographic characteristics but also by the economic, social, and psychological values they attached to children.

In short, respondents' educational attainment, income, and urban experience were important negative determinants of such values of children as continuity, security, and social status. Respondents with sons generally wanted to balance their family composition with daughters. Respondents who idealized a large number of children emphasized such reasons as having children to carry on the family name and to provide security to the parents in old age. Respondents who had a large number of children but still wanted more experienced a serious financial burden but expected to receive economic assistance from their children.

The multivariate analysis revealed that the cluster of socio-demographic variables including income, education, urban experience, and media exposure had the strongest predictive power on many of the family planning and fertility variables. When two sets of value-of-children variables were added to the regression equation, the cluster comprising economic values produced a weak increment in predictive power for most of the dependent variables. A stronger increment in prediction was obtained when the cluster labeled socio-psychological value-of-children dimensions was included.

6

summary of findings and recommendations

This study has attempted to describe the values of children as perceived by Korean parents. Childbearing motivations were conceptualized as the perceived satisfactions and costs associated with having children. The theoretical assumption of the study was that there are two opposing motivational forces: positive forces stemming from perceived childbearing satisfactions that lead to a desire for children, and negative motives stemming from perceived costs of childbearing that lead to an avoidance of childbearing. Both motivations reflect a general utility perspective according to which children are viewed as an important means for satisfying diverse parental needs.

The purposes of the study were threefold: (1) to identify the major values Korean parents from varying socioeconomic backgrounds attached to children by describing and analyzing their reasons for wanting and not wanting children; (2) to identify the conditions under which respondents' values of children had been formed, on the assumption that those values were influenced by cultural and social conditions; and (3) to relate childbearing motivations to family-size preferences and fertility behavior. The study was undertaken in the hope that its results would provide valuable guidance for policy makers.

The sample included approximately 60 couples from each of three socioeconomic groups—urban middle-class, urban lower-class, and rural. Each couple had at least one child; wives ranged in age from 20 to 34, husbands from 20 to 44. In all, 378 interviews were conducted.

Because of the limited sample size and the exploratory nature of the study, the results should be interpreted with caution.

The questionnaire contained both open-ended and structured questions aimed at identifying value-of-children variables, including a Likert scale that measured attitudes toward children. In addition, it gathered information about respondents' backgrounds (education, religion, occupation, and economic status) and fertility behavior.

Summary of findings

Positive values of children

As revealed in the responses to open-ended questions, the positive values of children that were most salient to respondents were the happiness that children bring to a family, the fun of playing with children (and, conversely, the avoidance of boredom), pleasure derived from watching children's growth and development, and incentives provided by children to succeed in life. In addition to these advantages, continuity of the family name was considered to be an important positive value of sons. Urban middle-class parents emphasized the happiness that children bring to a family, the satisfaction of rearing children, and the pleasure of children's development. Urban lower-class and rural respondents attached importance to happiness for the family and continuity of the family name, the latter value being most important to the rural group. Rural respondents also emphasized the companionship, comfort, and care that children provide to parents in old age. In general, the values mentioned most frequently by urban respondents and considered most important to them were oriented toward the psychological welfare of the family, whereas the values emphasized by rural respondents were oriented more toward the filial instrumentality of children (e.g., continuity of family name and care in old age) and less toward the roles children play in the affective balance of the family. Economic benefits and security derived from children were also mentioned by many rural respondents, but were not considered so important as we had expected.

Husband-wife differences were not so great as those between social classes. Wives most frequently mentioned the play and fun derived from children, pleasure from watching children grow, and children as a bond between the spouses. The advantages that were ranked most important by wives, though, were the happiness that children bring to a family and the economic benefits and security children provide; play and fun with children were also important to many female respond-

ents. Husbands tended to mention the happiness children bring to a family, continuity of the family name, and incentives to succeed in life, as well as play and fun; and they attached greatest importance, in ranking, to happiness for the family and continuity of the family name.

Negative values of children

The questionnaire also asked respondents to mention some disadvantages of having children and to rank them in importance. The most important negative values of children were the emotional burden they place on parents, the financial costs, and the restrictions on parents' alternative activities. Specific emotional strains mentioned were the noise and disorder that children cause, children's health problems, and rearing problems. Both general financial costs and children's educational expenses were of concern to respondents. More lower-class and rural than middle-class respondents expressed concern over the cost of education. Children were also perceived as restricting parents' general flexibility and freedom, their jobs and careers, recreation and travel time, and time for spouse interactions. These opportunity costs were more acutely felt by the middle class and wives than by others. Other disadvantages mentioned were disciplinary problems, concern over children's future success, and the physical work and fatigue caused by children.

Reasons for wanting daughters and sons

The positive and negative values discussed above were mentioned in response to questions about children in general. Values may be attached to children of a particular sex, however, and son preference is known to be prevalent in Korea. It seems that preference for a particular sex depends largely on the functions ascribed to each sex in a society.

In our study, most respondents said that children of both sexes were important, but more ascribed importance to boys than to girls. Respondents also gave different reasons for wanting boys and girls. The most frequently mentioned reason for wanting boys, particularly among lower-class and male respondents, was to continue the family name. Other reasons were comfort and care, especially in old age, economic help in old age, and preservation of family traditions. Daughters, on the other hand, were valued because they provide companionship for their mothers and because of their positive behavioral and personality qualities, the second reason being especially salient to female respondents. Among other reasons for wanting girls were the happiness

they bring to a family (mentioned by more urban than rural residents and by more husbands than wives) and the practical help around the household that daughters provide (mentioned mostly by rural respondents).

Attitudes toward having children

Respondents were asked to state how much they agreed or disagreed with 45 Likert-type items expressing positive and negative attitudes toward having children. Items eliciting strong agreement described the positive values of parenthood—its virtue, naturalness, high purpose, opportunity for teaching children and learning from them, importance to marriage, and source of meaning and self-worth. Items receiving the lowest agreement were of several types—those describing the problems associated with children (the mental strain and tediousness of child-rearing, children as a source of conflict between spouses), those suggesting that parenthood should be weighed against other alternatives (such as using the couple's income for something else or not interfering with the wife's work), and those suggesting that nature, or family and friends, or duty, or society compels a couple to have children. Oddly, one positive item about children—the true loyalty they show to their parents—also scored low.

Orthogonal factor analysis of the 45 attitude items yielded six factors characterized by (I) continuity and security; (II) fulfillment of marriage and family integration; (III) psychological costs of children; (IV) parental roles, responsibility, and satisfaction; (V) decision-mindedness toward childbearing; and (VI) fatalism. The first factor, continuity and security, summarizes the instrumental roles of children and seems to reflect deeply ingrained, traditional attitudes toward children. One element relates to the group and societal benefits associated with children. Items in this factor emphasized the value of children for social comparison and competition, as sources of parental pride and social acceptance. The factor implies a preference for male children, for its contents refer almost exclusively to the utility of sons. The second factor, fulfillment of marriage and family integration, suggests the aesthetic and expressive roles of children for their parents. Psychological costs of children (factor III), on the other hand, summarizes the negative psychological consequences of having children. The fourth factor defines the roles, responsibility, and satisfactions of parents in relation to their children, suggesting that raising children is intrinsically rewarding and worthwhile. The fifth factor, decision-mindedness toward childbearing, includes elements indicative of a propensity to

assess alternatives to parenthood. One feature of this factor is that the items it comprises do not describe positive or negative values of children per se but focus instead on the decision-making process regarding childbearing.

These factors seem to confirm our expectation that parents tend to perceive children not only as satisfying their individual needs but also as fulfilling social and economic functions. Factors I and II differentiated the social classes and sexes. Lower-class, rural, and female respondents scored higher than others on continuity and security, and urban and female respondents scored higher than others on fulfillment of marriage and family integration. Women also scored higher than men on psychological costs of children. These differences are consistent with those revealed by other measures used in the study.

Four of the six factors differentiated two parity groups, respondents with fewer than three children and those with four or more. The low-parity group scored relatively higher on fulfillment of marriage and family integration (factor II), parental roles, responsibility, and satisfaction (factor IV), and decision-mindedness in childbearing (factor V), whereas the high-parity group scored comparatively higher on psychological costs of children (factor III). These findings are also consistent with the results obtained by other measures.

Situation-specific reasons for wanting and not wanting children

We assumed that couples' fertility decisions depend not only on their general motives for having children but also on such circumstances as their current family size and family composition. In addition to questions regarding desired family size, the VOC questionnaire included unstructured questions concerning respondents' reasons for not wanting fewer or more than the number of children they desired and structured questions concerning their reasons for wanting and not wanting another child.

The most frequently mentioned reasons for not wanting fewer than the desired number was that respondents wanted more boys, their desired number of children simply seemed to be the "right" number, and they wanted a particular combination of sexes. Middle-class people also said they could afford their desired number or that they wanted to avoid an only child. The most frequently mentioned reasons for not wanting more than the desired number of children were the costs of raising children and educating them, and the desire for the "correct" number of children for rearing, ease of handling, and happiness. As indicated in the analysis of the perceived financial burden of desired

family size, economic costs were acutely felt by lower-class and rural respondents. Only the middle class expressed concern about the health hazard to the mother of repeated pregnancies and the restrictions that children place on parents' time.

The most important reasons for wanting another child were to carry on the family name, to learn about life and oneself, the fun of having children around, and to have a boy or another boy. The most important reasons for not wanting another child were the financial burden to the family, the difficulty of giving enough attention and care to existing children, the emotional strain, and the problems another child would cause between the spouses. A majority of respondents rated concern about overpopulation as very important or somewhat important in response to this structured question, but a much smaller proportion spontaneously mentioned this concern as a reason for not wanting more children when responding to the open-ended question.

An attempt was made to identify reasons for wanting and not wanting additional children and to relate the reasons to respondents' family size. Lower-parity respondents who wanted more children, as compared with those who did not, regarded as more important the desire for a stronger marriage, spouse's preference, and love between parents and children. Lower-parity respondents who did not want more children emphasized such reasons as restrictions on the couple's freedom and lack of time for interactions between spouses. Higher-parity respondents who wanted more children, as compared with those who did not, stressed economic security and psychological satisfaction in old age as reasons. Higher-parity respondents who did not want more mentioned the financial and psychological costs of more children—for example, not being able to give adequate attention to existing children. These results indicate the contrasting rewards and costs of children perceived by parents of different parities when faced with the hypothetical prospect of another child. Respondents' perceptions appear to have been influenced by the number of children they already had, in particular by their experiences with existing children.

Economic values of children

Although people may not consciously take economic factors into consideration when planning their families, our findings suggest that economic considerations do affect Korean couples' fertility decisions. Four-fifths of our sample agreed that couples should consider the economic costs of children before having them. Economic or utilitarian benefits and costs were prominent among the advantages and disad-

vantages of having children cited by respondents. It therefore appears that, despite an age-old prohibition against regarding children as goods in an economic sense, Korean respondents in fact viewed children as having economic or utilitarian value—and disvalue.

Moreover, these values appeared to be changing. Only half of the sample believed that children nowadays are as willing to support their parents in old age as children a generation ago; of the rest, most thought children were less willing. If, as we have assumed, middle-class respondents' opinions on this subject are representative of more modern attitudes toward children, then the economic advantages of children are diminishing while their costs are becoming more prominent to parents. For more traditional (i.e., lower-class and rural) respondents, however, the economic utility of children, particularly of sons, was still quite salient and important.

Economic or utilitarian benefits from children that respondents mentioned most frequently were economic help to the family; companionship, comfort, care in old age; and sharing of financial responsibility. Although only a few respondents mentioned old-age assistance in response to the open-ended question about the advantages of children, in response to a structured question a fourth of the sample stated that such assistance was very important. As anticipated, expectations of financial help from children were stronger among lower-class and especially rural respondents than among the middle class—with one exception; more middle-class respondents than others expected economic assistance from daughters, a finding that may reflect improving employment opportunities for women in the middle class.

Among the disadvantages of having children, the heavy financial burden of raising them was mentioned by nearly half of the Korean sample, and nearly all respondents considered the financial burden of an additional child to be important. The cost of children's education was both salient and important to substantial numbers of respondents, especially in the lower class.

Our findings bore out the hypothesis that the degree to which parents feel children to be a financial burden is directly related to family size. Sixty percent of the sample thought that raising three children imposed a heavy financial burden on parents, and 88 percent thought that raising four children entailed a heavy burden. This finding is important because respondents' current family size at the time of the survey ranged from an average of 2.5 children for the middle class to 3.4 for the rural group, and substantial minorities of each subgroup wanted to have more children.

In this connection it is of interest to note that, in replying to a question about adequacy of family income, a majority of respondents in each socioeconomic group reported that their income was not adequate for their family needs. Only in Korea, among the VOC countries, was such a strong response pattern found, and a much higher percentage of respondents in Korea than elsewhere judged three or fewer children to be a heavy financial burden.

The social context, values of children, and fertility

We hypothesized that parents' feelings about children are shaped in a broad social context as well as in narrower situational circumstances. Although this study did not gather data specifically for the purpose of testing this hypothesis, we did use correlational analysis to explore relationships between respondents' background and situational characteristics and the values they attached to children. For the correlational analysis we selected three sets of value-of-children measures—VOC attitude scales, reasons for wanting and not wanting another child, and intensity of son preference—and related these to respondents' background characteristics. Two background characteristics that were most strongly related to the VOC attitude scales were educational attainment and urban experience. Respondents with more education and more urban experience tended to de-emphasize such traditional reasons for wanting children as family continuity, tradition, and security provided by children, social status derived from children, and pressures from others to have more children. They were also less likely than others to want another child and to prefer sons to daughters.

Assuming that reasons for wanting or not wanting another child are situation-specific—that is, contingent on the number of children and (particularly in Korea) sons already born—we correlated them with parity (living children) and living sons. As expected, respondents who had more boys wanted fewer boys and more girls than others; they also felt less pressure from relatives and spouse, and less of a religious obligation, to have additional children. Those with larger families tended to give, as reasons for wanting another child, continuity of the family name, help provided by children in old age, and expected economic assistance for the family; at the same time, they experienced more than others a heavy financial burden, physical work caused by children, and concern about not being able to give enough attention and care to their children. Those who actually wanted additional children emphasized continuity of family name, the desire for sons, religious duty, pressure from relatives, and fear of infant mortality as

reasons. These respondents were less concerned than others about the financial burden of another child, spouse's preference, not being able to give enough attention to existing children, and restrictions on their freedom. When the number of living sons was controlled, wanting boys and pressure from relatives were no longer significant reasons for wanting more children, whereas wanting girls gained in significance.

Correlational analysis was also performed on the relationship between background, fertility, and contraceptive variables on the one hand and economic indices of the value of children on the other. The economic variables related to children were economic costs of children, number of children that would be a heavy economic burden, expected economic help from children, and the perceived utility of children nowadays. Almost all of the economic factors were negatively related to the background characteristics of education, income, urban experience, and age at marriage and to the contraception variables, but positively related to fertility. Thus respondents who had less education, lower incomes, less urban experience, and more years of marriage felt the costs of children significantly more than others. These respondents were also more likely to expect economic help from their children. On the other hand, respondents who both had and wanted more children than others were more likely to expect economic help from their children, feel the economic costs of children, and be aware of the economic burden of children.

Using stepwise regression analysis, we next examined how three sets of socio-demographic background characteristics, economic values of children, and socio-psychological values of children were predictive of parity, number of additional children wanted, total number of children wanted, situational attitudes toward contraception, number of contraceptive methods known about, and current use of contraception. The set of socio-demographic variables proved to be the strongest predictor of most of the dependent variables, the proportion of variance explained ranging from 4 percent (for situational attitudes toward contraception) to 63 percent (for number of living children). When the economic value-of-children variables were added to the regression equation, the percentage of variance explained increased slightly. Further addition of the socio-psychological values of children substantially improved the power of the predictive clusters. Thus social and psychological values associated with children appear to have important influences on fertility decisions. However, since the present study was exploratory and the sample was small and nonrepresentative of Korea's population at large, these results should be interpreted with caution.

Recommendations for population policies

This study has identified both positive and negative childbearing motivations and examined their relationship to fertility behavior. Although the findings must be viewed as tentative, some of them may be of interest to those concerned with population policies and population communication programs. We will therefore venture several policy and program recommendations based on these findings.

Respondents wanted children for many different reasons, and these reasons were influenced by couples' backgrounds and current situations. This finding suggests that family planning programs should be designed for the areas they are intended to serve, taking into account the values parents from different social strata attach to children. For example, urban parents in our study, especially the middle class, emphasized psychological and emotional benefits of children, whereas rural parents were more concerned with the economic benefits and security that children provide. Likewise, negative values associated with children differed among the three socioeconomic groups. Urban respondents were concerned about the restrictions and opportunity costs that children impose on parents, whereas the rural group was worried about the economic burden of children. These differences should be given due attention in the development of population communication programs. More specific recommendations follow.

The rural group and, to a lesser degree, the urban lower-class group tended to emphasize the economic benefits and security that children provide to parents, particularly in old age. Therefore, they had more children than middle-class respondents. The policy implication of this finding is clear: that national old-age pensions and social welfare programs are needed. As the economic situation improves, social development, including human welfare, is gradually receiving more attention than before. One example is recent legislation to establish a health insurance program for the elderly and the disadvantaged, which has strong government support. We recommend that the government expand these programs and increase the benefits provided by them. In addition, communication programs about family planning should emphasize that children from small families usually receive more attention from their parents and tend to have more opportunities for education than children from large families, and therefore they have greater potential for supporting their parents in old age.

Continuity of family name and family traditions was consistently emphasized as an important value to Korean parents, especially to rural and male respondents. Children were seen as an essential part of

marriage: without children a marriage is not complete or there is no point to marriage, and only through having children is it possible to continue the family. In Korea there is a strong traditional belief that only sons, not daughters, can continue the family line, perform ancestor worship rites, and better the fortune of the family. The value of family continuity need not be discredited, but the belief that it can be attained only through sons must be changed. Since education appears to be one of the most important background factors affecting the strength of son preference, the educational system itself, through its curricula, can challenge beliefs known to lead to son preference among adults.

Furthermore, although major steps have been taken to change many provisions of the current civil code that foster sex discrimination, further efforts should be made to change these laws in favor of the equitable treatment of women. Alternatives to the present code might include the equal division of family property among children regardless of sex, preferential employment opportunities for women, penalties for corporate employers who discriminate against women in jobs, and government financial assistance to daughters who support their parents. Also relevant to this effort is the need for research on how sex preference is acquired through socialization.

Better-educated, middle-class parents in the study emphasized such psychological and emotional needs provided by children as companionship and affection, childrearing satisfactions, and the personal development of the parent. Because these psychological values are related to small-family preferences, they should be encouraged. However, it is difficult to find substitutes for children in fulfilling such emotional needs. Some emotional needs normally satisfied by having children can be met in other ways, though, and the social acceptability of childless marriages should be fostered, as should the idea that children from small families are of better quality and better able to realize their parents' aspirations than children from large families. Newspapers, journals, television, films, and radio could be used to convey these ideas.

VOC respondents were very much aware of the financial costs of children, both general rearing costs and expenses for children's education; and such costs were given as the primary reason for limiting family size. Population policy has frequently centered on means to increase the financial costs of parenthood. It has been argued, for example, that the standard income tax deduction for dependents should be denied for the third (or fourth) and subsequent children, or that public housing should be denied to families with more than three children, or

that tuition at public schools should be increased for parents of more than three children. These and similar policies should be considered with care, because, as Arnold and Fawcett (1975:130) have pointed out: "One problem with increasing the cost of childrearing is that it is not only the parents who have to pay if they insist on having large families. The real burden falls on the children themselves if they cannot be adequately cared for." These authors recommend devising ways to increase the perceived costs of children rather than the actual costs, to avoid this dilemma.

Better educated, middle-class VOC parents, particularly the wives, felt their freedom restricted by children. Because children demand parental time and attention, couples must forego social activities, and in some cases, wives may have to abandon jobs or careers. These opportunity costs were considered by some to be more important than financial costs. One policy approach would be to enhance couples' awareness of such costs, for example by making alternative activities more available and attractive or by increasing the extent to which children interfere with such alternative activities. The job market in Korea has in recent years begun to open up positions to women, so that the number of women in the labor force has increased considerably. This state of affairs has undoubtedly led employed women to feel the opportunity costs of children.

Emotional costs of children were highly salient to respondents in all socioeconomic groups, but especially so to urban respondents. Children cause noise and disorder in the home, creating worry and emotional strain for parents. Here again a policy recommendation would be to increase awareness of these emotional costs, and of the fact that they almost inevitably increase with family size. Family planning communication messages should stress the emotional side effects of having many children. Through women's clubs, gatherings for brides, and evening classes as well, young women should be encouraged to delay childbearing until their marriages are on a sound footing financially and emotionally.

These are only some of the recommendations that can be drawn from the findings of this study. As stated earlier, since the values parents attached to children differ among socioeconomic groups, actual implementation of these recommendations should be made in a group-specific context.

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